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Murder of Thomas a Becket, Vol. 2d. Page

THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON, S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY, and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

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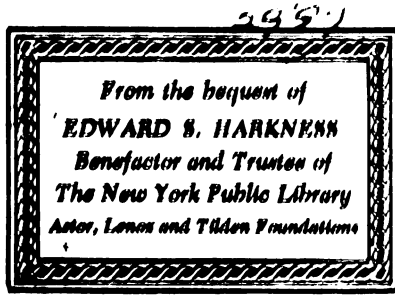
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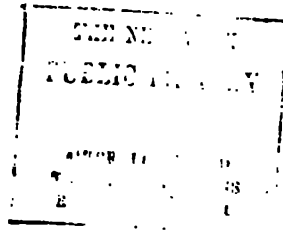

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CONTENTS.

CHAP. XXXVI.

OF the empire. Of Italy. Of the emperor Henry IV. and pope Gregory VII. Of Rome and the empire in the eleventh century. 1

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the emperor Henry V. and of Rome, 'till the time of Frederick I. called Barbaroſſa. 19

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Frederick Barbaroſſa 26

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the emperor Henry VI. and of Rome 34

CHAP. XL.

The ſtate of France and England, 'till the reigns of St. Lewis, John Lackland, and Henry III. during the twelfth century. Great changes in the public adminiſtration in England and France: the murder of Thomas Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury: England made a fief to the ſee of Rome, &c. 39

CHAP. XLI.

Of Otho IV. and Philip Auguſtus in the thirteenth century. Of the battle of Bouvines, and of England and France, till the death of Lewis VIII. father to St. Lewis. 54

CHAP. XLII.

Of Frederick II. and his quarrels with the popes, and the German empire. 62

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the Eaſt at the time of the cruſades 76

CHAP. XLIV.

Of the firſt cruſade till the taking of Jeruſalem. 82

CHAP. XLV.

Cruſades after the taking of Jeruſalem 96

CHAP. XLVI.

Of St. Lewis and the laſt cruſade 124

CHAP. XLVII.

Continuation of the taking of Conſtantinople by the cruſaders 137

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the Eaſt and of Gengis-Can. 142

CHAP. XLIX.

Of Charles of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies; and of the Sicilian veſpers. 157

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. L.

Of the crusade against the Albigenses 161

CHAP. LI.

The state of Europe in the thirteenth century. 169

CHAP. LII.

Of Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. 175

CHAP. LIII.

Of Philip the Fair, and of pope Boniface VIII. 187

CHAP. LIV.

Of the punishment of the Knights Templars, and the suppression of that order. 195

CHAP. LV.

Of Switzerland, and the revolution in that country at the beginning of the fourteenth century. 203

CHAP. LVI.

Sequel of the state of the empire, Italy, and the pontificate in the fourteenth century. 207

CHAP. LVII.

Of Joan queen of Naples 219

CHAP. LVIII.

Of the emperor Charles IV. and of the return of the holy see from Avignon to Rome. 226

CHAP. LIX.

Of the great schism in the West. 232

CHAP. LX.

The council of Constance 241

CHAP. LXI.

Of John Huss, and of Jerom of Prague 248

CHAP. LXII.

Of the state of Europe at the time of the council of Constance 257

CHAP. LXIII.

Of France and England, in the time of Philip of Valois and Edward III. 265

CHAP. LXIV.

Of France under king John 283

CHAP. LXV.

Of the Black Prince. Of Don Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, and of the constable du Guesclin 293

CHAP. LXVI.

Of France and England, during the reign of Charles V. 300

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Empire of ITALY. Of the Emperor HENRY IV. and POPE GREGORY VII. Of ROME and the EMPIRE in the Eleventh Century.

IT is now time to return to the ruins of Rome, and that ſhadow of the throne of the Cæſars which began to appear again in Germany.

It was yet uncertain who was to reign in Rome, or what was to be the fate of Italy. The German emperors thought themſelves by right maſters of the whole weſtern empire: and yet they were ſcarcely ſovereigns in Germany, where the great feudal government of the lords and biſhops began to take deep root. The Nor-

Norman princes, who had conquered Apulia and Calabria, formed a new power. The Venetians had, by their example, inspired all the great towns of Italy with the love of liberty and independence. The popes were not yet sovereigns, but wanted to be so.

The right of the emperors to nominate the popes began to be established; but it is easy to see that the first favourable circumstance might given a sudden turn to affairs. This soon fell out under the minority of the em-
1056 peror, Henry IV. who was in the life-time of his father Henry III. acknowledged as his successor.

Even in the time of this last emperor the imperial authority began to decline in Italy. His sister the countess or dutchess of Tuscany, mother to that true benefactress of the pope, the countess Matilda d'Este, contributed more than any one to stir up Italy against her brother. Together with the marquisate of Mantua, she possessed Tuscany, and a part of Lombardy. Having had the imprudence to come to the German court, they detained her a considerable time prisoner there. Her daughter, the countess Matilda, inherited her ambition, and hatred to the imperial house.

During the minority of Henry IV. many popes were made by intrigues, money, and civil dissentions. At length, in 1061, Alexander II. was elected without the imperial court being at all consulted. That court in vain nominated another pope: its interest was upon the decline in Italy; Alexander II. carried his point, and obliged his competitor to leave Rome.

The

Though Henry IV. when he came of age ſaw himſelf emperor of Italy and Germany, yet he was very much circumſcribed in his power. Part of the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical princes of his own country entered into cabals againſt him; and it is well known that he had no way of being maſter of Italy but at the head of a powerful army, and that he wanted. His power was trifling, but his courage was ſuperior to his fortune.

Some authors relate, that being accuſed in the diet of Wurtſburg of having intended to aſſaſſinate the Dukes of Suabia and Carinthia, he offered to fight the accuſer, who was only a ſimple gentleman. The day was fixed for the combat, and the accuſer not appearing, the emperor was acquitted. 1073

As ſoon as the authority of a prince comes to be diſputed, an attack is generally made upon his morals. Henry was publicly reproached with having miſtreſſes, while the meaneſt prieſt was ſuffered to keep them with impunity. He wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of a marquis of Ferrara, with whom he pretended he had never been able to conſummate his marriage. Some little irregularities of his youth contributed to ſour the minds of the people ſtill more, and his conduct had weakened his power.

There was at that time at Rome a monk of Cluni, lately made a cardinal, a man of a reſtleſs, fiery, and enterpriſing diſpoſition, and one who knew very well, upon occaſion, how to join artifice to an ardent zeal for the pretenſions of the church. Hildebrand was the name

of this daring man, who afterwards came to be the famous pope Gregory VII. He was born at Soan, in Tuſcany, of obſcure parents *; was brought up at Rome, received into the order of the monks of Cluni, under the abbot Odilon; and, being deputed to Rome upon ſome affairs of his order, was afterwards employed by the popes in all affairs which required dexterity and reſolution; and began already to diſtinguiſh himſelf in Italy by an intrepid and violent zeal. The public voice declared him the ſucceſſor of Alexander II. under whoſe pontificate he governed every thing. The various characters, favourable and unfavourable, which ſo many writers have given us of this Gregory, may be found compriſed in a picture which a Neapolitan painter drew of him, in which he was repreſented with a ſheep-hook in one hand, and a whip in the other, trampling upon ſceptres; and by his ſide St. Peter's nets and fiſh.

Gregory engaged pope Alexander to ſtrike an unheard of blow, in ſummoning young Henry to appear at Rome before the tribunal of the holy ſee. This was the firſt example of ſo ſignal an exploit; and in what times was it hazarded? When Rome had been accuſtomed by Henry III. the father of this very Henry, to receive her biſhops at the ſole command of the emperor. Now it was preciſely this mark of ſervitude which Gregory aimed at throwing off; and to prevent the emperors from giving laws in Rome, he reſolved that the pope ſhould give laws to the emperor. This bold ſtep was attended with no conſequence at that time.

* He was the ſon of a carpenter.

In

In all this affair Alexander II. ſeems like a forlorn hope diſpatched by Hildebrand againſt the empire before he would venture to give it battle. The death of Alexander followed ſoon after this firſt act of hoſtility.

1073 Upon the demiſe of this pontiff, Hildebrand had credit enough to get himſelf elected and inſtalled by the people of Rome, without waiting for the emperor's permiſſion. But he ſoon after obtained it, upon promiſing to be faithful to his intereſts; and Henry, accepting of his excuſes, ſent his chancellor of Italy to confirm his election at Rome. Upon this occaſion, the emperor being cautioned by his courtiers to beware of Gregory, publicly declared that this pope could never be ungrateful to his benefactor; but no ſooner was Gregory ſettled in the papal chair, than he declared excommunicate all who ſhould receive benefices from laymen, and every layman who ſhould preſume for the future to confer them. He had formed the deſign of depriving all lay patrons of the right of preſentation to church livings. This was engaging the church in an open quarrel with the ſovereigns of all nations. The violent temper of this pontiff broke out at the ſame time againſt Philip I. king of France. The affair related to ſome Italian merchants who had been ranſomed by the French. The pope wrote a circular letter to the biſhops of France, in which he delivers himſelf thus: "Your king, ſays he, is rather a tyrant than a king; he ſpends his days in infamy and vice;" and immediately upon theſe indiſcreet expreſſions follow the uſual threats of excommunication.

1075 Not long after, while Henry was engaged in a war with the Saxons, the pope ſent two legates to him, with a ſummons to come and anſwer to the charge of having granted the inveſtiture of benefices, and threatning him with excommunication, in caſe of non-compliance. The two legates who brought this ſtrange ſummons, delivered their meſſage juſt as the emperor had obtained a complete victory over the Saxons, and was returned crowned with glory, and grown more powerful than they expected. It is eaſy to conceive with what indignation a young emperor of five and twenty, victorious, and jealous of his dignity, muſt have received ſuch an embaſſy: yet he did not inflict any exemplary puniſhment upon the deputies, the prejudices of thoſe times not allowing of ſuch a ſtep; he contented himſelf therefore with treating this piece of inſo-

1076 lence with the contempt it deſerved, and left theſe indiſcreet legates to the inſults of the ſervants attending his court.

Almoſt at the ſame time this pope alſo excommunicated the Norman princes of Apulia and Calabria, (mentioned in the thirteenth chapter.) So many excommunications thrown out upon the back of one another would in theſe times be looked upon as the height of folly and imprudence; but it ſhould be conſidered, that when Gregory iſſued his menaces againſt the king of France, he addreſſed his bull to the duke of Aquitaine, that king's vaſſal, who was nearly as powerful as the king himſelf; that when he broke out againſt the emperor, he had a part of Italy on his ſide, together with the counteſs Matilda, Rome, and

one

one half of Germany; and that as to the Normans, they were then his declared enemies; ſo that, upon the whole, Gregory's behaviour will appear rather the effect of an inſolent and overbearing temper, than of raſhneſs or folly. He was ſenſible that in endeavouring to ſet up his own dignity above that of the emperor, and all other crowned heads, he ſhould have all the other churches on his ſide, who would be proud of being members of a head who knew ſo well how to pull down every ſuperior power: and his deſign was not only to throw off the yoke of the emperors, but at the ſame time to bring Rome, the emperors and kings in general, under the papal dominion. This project was ſuch an one as might have coſt him his life, and he could expect no other; but the greater the danger the greater the glory.

Henry had too much buſineſs upon his hands in Germany to ſuffer him to go over to Italy; and his firſt ſtep ſeemed rather that of an Italian lord than an emperor of Germany. Inſtead of employing a general and an army, he is ſaid to have made uſe of a ruffian named Cencius, famous for his robberies, who ſeized upon the pope in the church of St. Mary Maggior, at the very time he was celebrating divine ſervice. Some reſolute fellows, his accomplices, gave the pontiff ſeveral wounds, and hurrying him away, ſhut him up in a tower of which Cencius had the poſſeſſion.

Henry acted more in the character of a prince, in calling a council at Worms, conſiſting of biſhops, abbots, and doctors, in which he depoſed the pope; and the ſentence was agreed to by all preſent, two only excepted. But this

council wanted troops to make its decisions respected at Rome. Henry only lessened his authority by writing to the pope, that he had deposed him, and to the people in Rome, forbidding them any longer to acknowledge Gregory as their pontiff.

As soon as the pope received these insignificant letters, he addressed himself in these words to a council he summoned upon the occasion: "In the name of almighty God, and by your authority, I prohibit Henry the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Germanic kingdom, and Italy. I release all christians from their oath of allegiance to him; and strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as king." This is well known to be the first instance of a pope's pretending to deprive a sovereign of his crown. We have already seen Lewis the Debonnaire deposed by his bishops; but there was at least some colour for that step. They condemned Lewis in appearance only to do public penance; and no one had ever since the first founding of the church, presumed to talk in the same strain as Gregory. The circular letters written by this pontiff breath the same spirit as his sentence of deposition. He there repeats several times, "That bishops are superior to kings, and made to judge them:" expressions alike artful and presumptuous, and calculated for bringing in all the churchmen of the world to his standard.

There is the greatest probability that when Gregory thus deposed his sovereign only by pronouncing a few words, he knew very well that he had in his favour the civil wars of Germany, which began to break out anew with

the

the greateſt fury. A biſhop of Utrecht, who had been greatly inſtrumental in Gregory's condemnation, coming to be ſtruck with a ſudden and painful illneſs, of which he died, repented, it is ſaid, upon his death-bed of what he had done, as an act of ſacrilege. This repentance of the biſhop, whether true or falſe, impoſed upon the people. Theſe were no longer the times when Germany was united under the Otho's. Henry ſaw himſelf ſurrounded near Spires by the army of the confederates, who availed themſelves of the pope's bull. The feudal government which then prevailed in Germany, naturally produced ſuch kind of revolutions. Each German prince was jealous of the imperial power, as the higher nobility of France were of their king. The flame of civil war ſtill lay ſmothering, and a bull properly darted was ſufficient to ſet it into a blaze.

The confederate princes granted Henry his liberty, only on condition that he ſhould live as a private perſon, and under ſentence of excommunication at Spires, without exerciſing any function either of a chriſtian or a king, till the pope came to preſide at a diet of princes and biſhops, to be aſſembled at Augſburg, and by whom he was to be tried.

It is certain that thoſe princes who had a right to chuſe the emperor, had a right to depoſe him; but to make the pope preſident of the council appointed for trying him, was in fact to acknowledge the pontiff as the ſupreme judge of both emperor and empire. This was the victory of Gregory and of the popedom; and Henry, reduced to theſe extremities, ſtill added to the triumph.

Willing to prevent this fatal trial at Augſburg, he took an unheard of reſolution, in ſuddenly paſſing the Alps at Tirol, with a few domeſtics, to preſent himſelf to aſk abſolution of the pope. Gregory was then with the counteſs Matilda in the town of Canoſa, the antient Canuſium, on the Appennine mountains, near Rheggio, a fortreſs in theſe times deemed impregnable. This emperor, ſo celebrated for his victories, preſents himſelf at the gates of the fortreſs without either guards or attendants. They ſtopped him in the inner court, ſtripped him of his cloaths, and put him on an haircloth. In this condition, and barefooted, he was ſuffered to remain in the court, though
1077 it was then the month of January. They afterwards made him faſt three days before he was admitted to kiſs the pope's feet, who all that time was ſhut up with the counteſs Matilda, whoſe ſpiritual director he had long been. It is not at all ſurpriſing that this pope's enemies ſhould have reflected upon him for his conduct with regard to the counteſs. It is true he was an old man of ſeventy-two years of age; but then he was a ſpiritual director, and Matilda was a weak young woman. The devout language which we find in the pope's letters to this princeſs compared with the violence of his ambition, might tempt one to believe that he made uſe of religion for a maſk to all his paſſions: but, on the other hand, we have not a ſingle fact or circumſtance to authoriſe ſuch ſuſpicions. The hypocritical debauchee has neither the ſettled enthuſiaſm nor the intrepid zeal of Gregory, whoſe great auſterity made him ſo very dangerous.

At

At length the emperor was permitted to throw himſelf at the pontiff's feet, who deigned to grant him abſolution, but not till he had ſworn to wait for his ſolemn deciſion at the diet of Augſburg, and to be perfectly obedient to him in all things. Some biſhops and German lords of the emperor's party made the ſame ſubmiſſion. Gregory, then looking upon himſelf, and not without reaſon, as the lord and maſter of all the crowned heads of the earth, ſaid in ſeveral of his letters, "That it was his duty to pull down the pride of kings."

The people of Lombardy, who ſtill held out for the emperor, were ſo incenſed at his mean ſubmiſſion, that they were upon the point of deſerting him. Gregory was more hated by them than even in Germany. Happily for the emperor their deteſtation of the pope's arrogance overbalanced their indignation at his meanneſs. Henry turned this to his advantage; and, by a change of fortune hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he met with a ſtrong party in Italy, when he was abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms againſt the pope, while he on his ſide was raiſing all Germany againſt the emperor.

On the one hand the pope made uſe of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany, and Henry left nothing undone to perſuade the Italians to chuſe another pope. The Germans choſe Rodolph, duke of Sua- 1078
bia; upon which Gregory wrote word, that he would determine between Henry and Rodolph, and give the crown to him who would ſhew the moſt ſubmiſſion to his authority. Henry however truſted more to his troops, than

to the deciſion of the holy father; but meeting with ſome ill ſucceſſes, the pope growing more inſolent, excommunicated him a ſecond time, in 1680. "I deprive Henry of his crown, ſays he, and beſtow the empire of Germany on Rodolph:" and to make the world believe that he really had the diſpoſal of empires, he made a preſent to Rodolph of a golden crown on which this verſe was engraved:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

"The rock gave Peter the crown, and Peter gives it to Rodolph."

This verſe at once contains a wretched pun, and an affectation of haughtineſs, which were equally the taſte of thoſe times.

In the mean time Henry's party began to gather ſtrength in Germany; and this very prince, who clad in haircloth and barefooted, had waited three days at the mercy of one whom he looked upon as his ſubject, now took two reſolutions which were more noble. One was to depoſe the pope, and the other to give battle to his competitor. Accordingly he
1080 aſſembled about twenty biſhops at Brixen, in the county of Tirol, who, acting at the ſame time for the prelates of Lombardy, proceeded to excommunicate and depoſe Gregory VII. "for being a ſupporter of tyrants and an encourager of ſimony, ſacrilege, and magic." After this they proceeded to the election of a new pope, and choſe Guibert, archbiſhop of Ravenna; and while this new pope haſtens into Lombardy, to ſtir up the people againſt Gregory, Henry, at the head of an army, marches againſt his rival Rodolph.

Was

Was it exceſs of enthuſiaſm, or what we call a pious fraud, that induced Gregory at that time to prophecy that Henry would be defeated and ſlain in this war? "I am not pope, ſays he in his letter to the German biſhops of his party, if this does not fall out before St. Peter's day." Every one in his right ſenſes knows that none but a fool or an impoſtor would pretend to foretel what is to come: but let us conſider the errors which at that time had poſſeſſion of the minds of mankind. The learned in all ages have been addicted to judicial aſtrology. Gregory was reproached with having put faith in the predictions of aſtrologers; and the act of depoſition made againſt him at Brixen ſays, "That he dealt in divinations, and interpreting dreams;" and on this foundation they accuſed him of magic: he has likewiſe been called an impoſtor, on account of his falſe and odd kind of prediction above-mentioned, whilſt perhaps he was at the worſt but a credulous man.

This prediction of his, however, fell upon his own creature Rodolph, whom he was ſo proud of having made an emperor, he being defeated and afterwards ſlain by Godfrey of Bouillon, nephew to the counteſs Matilda, and the ſame who made the 1080
conqueſt of Jeruſalem. Who would imagine that the pope ſhould then, inſtead of making advances to Henry, write to the German biſhops, "That they ſhould proceed to the election of a new emperor, on condition of his yielding homage to the pope, and acknowledging himſelf his vaſſal?" Theſe letters plainly ſhew, that there was ſtill a very powerful party againſt Henry in Germany.

At this very time it was, that the pope ordered his legates in France to demand a yearly tribute of a ſilver denier for every houſe, in like manner as was done in England.

Spain was treated in a ſtill more deſpotic manner by him; for he pretended to be lord paramount of the whole kingdom, and ſays in his 16th epiſtle, "That it is much better it ſhould belong to the Saracens than not do homage to the holy ſee."

He wrote thus to Solomon, king of Hungary, a country which had at that time hardly embraced Chriſtianity: "You may learn from the elders of your country that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the church of Rome."

Enterprizes of this nature, however raſh they may ſeem to us, are always the neceſſary conſequences of the reigning opinions of the times; and undoubtedly the ignorance which prevailed in theſe ages made it the general belief that the church was the miſtreſs of kingdoms, or the pope would never have ventured to write always in this ſtile.

His inflexibility towards Henry was not likewiſe without foundation. He had gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the counteſs Matilda, that ſhe made an authentic donation of her territories to the holy ſee, only reſerving the enjoyment of them for her natural life. It is not known whether this conceſſion was made by a public act, or by a private deed between the two parties. The cuſtom at that time was, when any one made a donation of their goods or territories to the church, to place a lump of earth upon the altar; and, inſtead of a deed, there were witneſſes preſent on both ſides. It

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is ſaid that Matilda made two ſeveral donations of her effects to the ſee of Rome.

The validity of this donation, confirmed afterwards by her will, was never diſputed by her nephew Henry, and ſtill remains the moſt authentic title of any claimed by the popes; but yet this very title proved a freſh ſubject of diſpute. The counteſs poſſeſſed Tuſcany, Mantua, Parma, Rheggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, a part of Umbria, and the dutchy of Spoleto, Verona, almoſt the whole of what is now called St. Peter's Patrimony, reaching from Viterbo as far as Orvieto, together with a part of the marche of Ancona.

Henry III. had given this marche of Ancona to the popes; but however this did not prevent the counteſs Matilda's mother from taking poſſeſſion of the towns which ſhe thought of right belonged to her. It ſeems as if Matilda was deſirous of making reparation after her death for the injury ſhe had done to the holy ſee during her life-time: but it was not in her power to give away the unalienable fiefs; and the emperors pretended that her whole patrimony was a fief belonging to the empire. Therefore this was in effect leaving territories to be conquered, and making a legacy of continual wars. Henry IV. as heir, and lord paramount, looked upon this donation as an abſolute violation of the rights of the empire: however, in the end, he was obliged to yield a part of thoſe territories to the holy ſee.

Henry ſtill continuing his vengeance, came at length before Rome, and laid ſiege to it; and made himſelf maſter of the part of the town on this ſide the Tiber, called 1083

called the Leonina; but while he was menacing the pope, he entered into a negociation with the citizens, and gained over the principal ones to his party by money. The people threw themſelves at Gregory's feet, beſeeching him to avert the miſeries of a ſiege, by making conceſſions to the emperor. The intrepid pontiff replied, that the emperor muſt do penance once more, if he expected abſolution.

The ſiege proved a long one; for Henry could not carry it on conſtantly in perſon, being obliged to paſs over into Germany to put a ſtop to ſome inſurrections there: but at length he took the city by aſſault. It
1083 is very ſingular, that the emperors had made themſelves ſo often maſters of Rome, and yet never choſe to reſide there. Gregory, however, was not yet taken, having retired into the caſtle of St. Angelo, from whence he defied and excommunicated his conqueror.

Rome ſmarted ſeverely for the reſoluteneſs of her pontiff. Robert Guiſcard, duke of Apulia, one of thoſe famous Normans of whom I have already ſpoken, took advantage of the emperor's abſence to come to the pope's relief; but at the ſame time he plundered Rome; and that unhappy city was ravaged at once by the imperial troops, who kept the pope beſieged, and by the Neapolitans, who came to deliver him. Gregory VII. died ſome time afterwards at Salerno, May 24, 1085, leaving behind him a memory dear and reſpected by the Roman clergy, who inherited his pride, but deteſted by the emperors and by every good citizen who reflects upon the fatal effects of his inflexible ambition.

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The church, of whoſe cauſe he was at once the revenger and the victim, have placed him among their ſaints, in the ſame manner as the ancient nations were wont to deify their protectors and defenders.

The counteſs Matilda, having loſt Gregory, ſoon after married the young prince Guelph, ſon to Guelph duke of Bavaria: ſhe now ſaw all the folly of her late donation; ſhe was about forty-two years of age, and might yet have had children, who muſt have been left heirs to a civil war.

The death of Gregory did not however extinguiſh the flames which his ambition had raiſed. His ſucceſſors would not ſubmit their elections to the approbation of the emperors; the church being ſo far from thinking of paying homage, that ſhe exacted it of every one; and an emperor, when excommunicated, was no longer looked upon as a human being. A monk, abbot of Mount Caſin, was choſen ſucceſſor to the monk Hildebrand, and in every thing reſembled him; but his reign was very ſhort; and he was ſucceeded by Urban II. a Frenchman, born of mean extraction, who held the ſee for eleven years, and was another implacable enemy to the emperor.

It is clear to me, that the true foundation of theſe diſputes was, that the popes and the Roman people were not for having any emperors of Rome, and the pretence they made uſe of as an holy one, was, that the popes, as guardians of the rights of the church, could not ſuffer ſecular princes to perform the inveſtiture of biſhops with the croſier and ring. It is certain, that the biſhops were ſubjects to their

princes,

princes, and received their rights from them; and therefore owed them a homage for the territories they held by their bounty. The emperors and kings did not pretend to confer the gift of the holy ſpirit, but they expected homage for the temporalities they conferred. The formality of the croſier and ring was only an accidental part of the principal point; but it happened here, as it does in almoſt all diſputes, that the foundation was neglected, and they laid the whole ſtreſs upon an indifferent ceremony.

Henry IV. conſtantly excommunicated, and perſecuted on this pretence by every pope in his time, experienced all the miſeries that civil or religious wars could produce. Urban II. ſtirred up his own ſon Conrad againſt him, and, after the death of this unnatural ſon, his brother, who was afterwards Henry V. made war againſt his father. This was the ſecond time ſince Charlemagne, that the popes had armed the hands of children againſt their parents.

Henry IV. betrayed by his ſon Henry, as Lewis the Debonnaire had been by
1106 his children, was ſhut up in Mentz; whither two legates came from the pope to depoſe him; and two deputies ſent from the diet by his ſon, diveſted him of the imperial robes.

Soon after having made his eſcape from priſon, he wandered up and down
Aug. 7. poor and friendleſs, and died at length at Liege, in a more miſerable and obſcure condition than his adverſary Gregory VII. after having ſo long attracted the eyes of all Europe by his victo-

ries,

ries, his grandeur, his misfortunes, his vices, and his virtues. When he was upon his death-bed he cried out, "Juſt God, thou wilt revenge me on this parricide." It has been believed in all ages, that God hears the curſes of the dying, and eſpecially thoſe of parents: an error which would be uſeful and deſerving of reſpect, did it prove the means of putting a ſtop to crimes. But another error has prevailed more generally among us, namely, that of believing all excommunicated perſons to be damned. Henry's ſon put the finiſhing ſtroke to his unnatural hypocriſy and impiety, by cauſing his father's body, under a ſhocking pretence to religious ſcruples, to be taken out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral-church of Liege, and carried to a cave in Spires.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Emperor HENRY V. and of ROME, 'till the Time of FREDERICK I. called BARBAROSSA.

THIS Henry IV. who, armed with the pope's bull, had dethroned his father, and afterwards dug him out of his grave, maintained the ſame prerogatives as his father againſt the church, as ſoon as he came to be in poſſeſſion of the empire.

The popes had already found out the ſecret of ſheltering themſelves againſt the emperors under the kings of France. It is true, the pre-

tenſions

tenſions of the ſee of Rome ſtruck at the authority of all ſovereigns; but then the popes knew how to manage by treaties thoſe whom they inſulted by their bulls. The kings of France had no pretenſions upon Rome, and were only jealous of the Germans, who were their neighbours; this made them therefore natural allies to the popes. On this account, Paſchal II. went to France to implore the aſſiſtance of Philip I. in which he was afterwards imitated by many of his ſucceſſors. The pope, notwithſtanding the territories which the ſee of Rome poſſeſſed, the pretended donations of the emperors Pepin and Charlemagne, and the real one of the counteſs Matilda, was not yet become a powerful prince; almoſt every foot of theſe territories were either conteſted him, or in the actual poſſeſſion of others. The emperor, not without reaſon, maintained that Matilda's territories ought to revert to him as a fief of the empire; ſo that the popes were engaged both in a ſpiritual and temporal quarrel. Paſchal II. could obtain nothing more of king Philip than a permiſſion to hold a
1107 council at Troyes, the French government being then too weak, and too much divided to aſſiſt him with troops.

Henry V. having, after a ſhort war, concluded a treaty with the Poles, found means to engage the princes of the empire in the ſupport of his rights; and thoſe very princes who had aſſiſted him to dethrone his father, in compliance with the pope's bulls, now joined with him to cauſe thoſe bulls to be annulled in Rome.

Upon

Upon this he paſſed the Alps with a powerful army; and Rome was once more drenched in blood for this quarrel of the croſier and the ring. Treaties, perjuries, excommunications, and murders, followed each other in rapid ſucceſſion. Paſchal having ſolemnly given up the inveſtitures in the emperor's favour, and ratified it on the holy goſpels, made the cardinals afterwards abrogate his oath, a new manner of breaking a promiſe; and ſuffered himſelf to be treated in full council as a coward, and a prevaricator, in order to be compelled to reſume what he had ſo ſolemnly given. This occaſioned the emperor to make a ſecond expedition againſt Rome; for the German Cæſars ſcarcely ever went thither but upon eccleſiaſtical diſputes, the principal of which was about the ceremony of the coronation. At length Henry V. after having created, depoſed, baniſhed, and recalled ſeveral popes, and having been as often excommunicated as his father, and like him diſturbed by his great vaſſals in Germany, was obliged to put an end to the war about inveſtitures, and give up the point of the croſier and the ring; and he gave up ſtill more; for, by a ſolemn act, he for ever renounced the right, which had been always claimed by the emperors and the kings of France, of nominating to vacant biſhoprics, or, at leaſt, of interpoſing their authority in ſuch manner at the elections, as made them abſolute maſters of the choice. 1111 1122

It was determined then in a council held at Rome, that kings ſhould no longer grant inveſtitures to thoſe canonically choſen, by giv-

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ing a crooked ſtaff, but by a ring; and the acts of this council were ratified by the emperor in Germany, and thus finiſhed this bloody and ridiculous war. But the ſame time that the council decided ſo methodically the kind of ſtaff with which biſhopries were to be granted, they took eſpecial care not to touch upon the queſtions, whether the emperor had a right to nominate to the ſee of Rome? whether the pope was his vaſſal? and whether the great poſſeſſions of the counteſs Matilda belonged to the church, or to the empire? It ſeemed as if they kept theſe in reſerve, as freſh fuel for a new war.

1125 After the death of Henry V. who left no iſſue, the empire being ſtill elective, was conferred by the votes of ten electors on a prince of the houſe of Saxony, named Lotharius II. There were much fewer intrigues and quarrels about the imperial throne than about the papal chair; for although in a council held by pope Nicholas II. in 1059, it had been decreed, that the pope ſhould be elected by the cardinal-biſhops, yet there had been no ſet form, nor certain rule eſtabliſhed as yet in theſe elections. This eſſential defect in the church-government was owing to an inſtitution in itſelf reſpectable. The primitive Chriſtians, who were all equally obſcure and united among themſelves, by the fear of the magiſtrates, governed in ſecret their humble and holy ſociety by a plurality of voices. Riches having in proceſs of time ſucceeded to their original indigence, nothing remained of the primitive church but this popular liberty, which ſometimes grew into licentiouſneſs. The cardinals, biſhops, prieſts, and clergy who compoſed the pope's coun-

council, had a great ſhare in the election; but the reſt of the clergy wanted likewiſe to enjoy their ancient right; the people too looked upon their ſuffrages as neceſſary; and the emperors thought, that all theſe votes put together ſignified nothing without their aſſent.

Peter of Leon, grandſon of a wealthy Jew, was elected by one faction, and Innocent II. by another. This occaſioned a new civil war; the Jew's ſon, as being the richeſt, kept poſſeſſion of Rome, and was protected by Roger king of Sicily*; his competitor being more artful, and more fortunate, was acknowledged in France and Germany. 1130.

And here occurs an hiſtorical fact which is by no means to be paſſed over. This Innocent II. in order to gain the emperor's ſuffrage, yields to him and his children the uſufruct of all the territories of the late counteſs Matilda, by a deed dated the 13th of June 1133. At length Peter, whom they called the Jewiſh pope, dying, after a reign of eight years, Innocent II. remained in quiet poſſeſſion of the ſee of Rome; and there followed a truce of ſome years between the emperor and pontificate; the madneſs after cruſades, which was then at its height, drawing the minds of people another way.

Rome however was not yet quiet. The antient love of liberty continued from time to time to ſhew itſelf: ſeveral cities of Italy had taken advantage of the troubles to form themſelves into republics; theſe were Florence, Sienna, Bologna, Milan, and Pavia. They had

* See Chap. xxxi.

before

before their eyes the great examples of Genoa, Venice, and Piſa; and Rome ſtill remembered that ſhe had been the city of the great Scipios. The people reſtored the ſhadow of a ſenate, which the cardinals had aboliſhed, and created a patrician in the room of two conſuls. This new ſenate ſignified to pope Lucius II.

1144 that the ſovereignty reſided in the people of Rome; and that the biſhop ought to concern himſelf only about the church.

The members who compoſed this ſenate having entrenched themſelves in the capitol, pope Lucius beſieged them there in perſon; but was wounded in the head with a ſtone, of which he died in a few days.

At this time Arnold of Breſcia, one of thoſe enthuſiaſtic perſons who are dangerous to themſelves and to the reſt of mankind, went from town to town preaching againſt the exorbitant riches and luxury of the clergy: he at length came to Rome, where he found the minds of the people diſpoſed to liſten to him; he had conceived the idle notion of reforming the popes, and contributing to make the church of Rome free. Eugene III. formerly a monk of Citteaux, and of Clervaux, was at that time pope. To this pope St. Bernard thus writes: "Beware of the Romans, they are hateful to heaven and earth, impious towards God, and ſeditious among themſelves: jealous of their neighbours, and cruel towards ſtrangers: they love no one, nor are they beloved of any one; and, deſirous of making the world fear them, they are afraid of all the world, &c." If we compare theſe antitheſes of St. Bernard with the lives of many of the popes, we ſhall readily excuſe

excuſe a people, who, bearing the name of Romans, endeavoured to have no maſter.

Pope Eugene III. had the addreſs to bring theſe people back to his yoke, who had been accuſtomed to that of ſo many others. But Arnold of Breſcia, in reward for his preachings, was burnt at Rome during the papacy of Adrian IV. and thus met with the uſual fate of reformers, who have more indiſcretion than power.

I think I ought to obſerve, in this place, that Adrian IV. who was an Engliſhman by birth ‡, arrived to this pitch of grandeur from the moſt abject of all conditions. He was the ſon of a beggar, and had been a beggar himſelf, ſtrolling about from country to country before he could obtain favour to be received as a ſervant among the monks of Valence in Dauphiny; and from theſe low beginnings he raiſed himſelf to be pope.

Our ſentiments generally tally with our preſent fortunes. This Adrian was ſo much the more haughty as he aroſe from the moſt abject condition. The Romiſh church has always had the advantage of giving that to merit which in other countries is given only to birth; and it may even be obſerved, that thoſe among the popes who have ſhewn the moſt haughtineſs, were they who raiſed themſelves from the

‡ His real name was Nicholas Breakſpeare, born in the farm of Langley, belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's, in which his father was a ſervant and lay-brother. Nicholas, going to Arles in Provence, was admitted in quality of ſervant to the canons of St. Rufus, where he became a monk, and in the ſequel was raiſed to the rank of abbot, and general of the order.

meaneſt beginnings. There are at preſent convents in Germany, where they admit none but perſons of noble birth: the Roman ſpirit has more grandeur, and leſs vanity.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

1152 AT that time reigned in Germany Frederick I. named Barbaroſſa, who was elected after the death of his uncle Conrad III. not only by the German electors, but by the Lombards likewiſe, who on this occaſion gave their votes. Frederick was a prince in all reſpects equal to Otho and Charlemagne. He was obliged to go to Rome to take the imperial crown, which the popes beſtowed both with haughtineſs and regret, wanting to crown him as a vaſſal, and vexed to receive him as a maſter. This ambiguous ſituation of the popes, the emperors, the Roman people, and the principal towns of Italy, always occaſioned the effuſion of blood at every coronation of a new emperor. It was the cuſtom, that when the emperor drew near to Rome in order to be crowned, the pope entrenched himſelf, the people ſtood upon their guard, and all Italy was up in arms. The emperor then promiſed that he would attempt nothing againſt the life, the perſon, nor the honour of the pope, the cardinals, nor the magiſtrates. A knight, completely armed, took this oath upon the croſs, in the name of Frederick. The pope

pope then went to meet the emperor ſome miles from Rome; the Roman ceremonial required that the emperor ſhould proſtrate himſelf before the pope and kiſs his feet, hold his ſtirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the diſtance of nine Roman paces. It was not thus, however, that the popes uſed to receive Charlemagne. Frederick looked upon this ceremony as an inſult, and refuſed to ſubmit to it: upon this refuſal all the cardinals fled, as if this prince had been guilty of a ſacrilege, which was the ſignal of a civil war. But the Roman chancery, which kept a regiſter of every thing of this kind, made him ſenſible that his predeceſſors had always complied with theſe ceremonies. I queſtion whether any other emperor but Lotharius II. ſucceſſor to Henry V. had led the pope's horſe by the bridle. The ceremony of kiſſing his feet, which was the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, did not hurt Frederick's pride; but he could not bear that of holding the ſtirrup and the bridle, looking upon it as an innovation. However, his pride at length digeſted theſe two ſuppoſed affronts, which he conſtrued only as empty marks of chriſtian humility, but which the court of Rome reckoned as proofs of real ſubjection.

The deputies of the Roman people were grown ſo inſolent, ſince almoſt all the other cities of Italy had rung the alarm of liberty, that they wanted to ſtipulate on their ſide with the emperor; but upon beginning their harrangue in theſe terms: "Great king, we have made you our fellow-citizen and our prince, of a foreigner that you was before." The emperor, wearied out with ſuch repeated inſolencies,

ſilenced them, and told them in plain terms: "Rome is no longer what ſhe was; nor is it true that it is you who have called me to be your prince. Charlemagne and Otho conquered you by their valour, and I am your maſter by right of poſſeſſion." With theſe words he ſent them back, and was inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope, who put the ſceptre into his hand, and the crown on his head.

June 18, 1155.

At that time they knew ſo little of what the empire really was, and their ſeveral pretenſions were ſo contradictory to each other, that on the one hand the Roman people mutinied, and there was a great deal of blood ſpilt, becauſe the pope had crowned the emperor without the conſent of the ſenate and the people; and on the other hand, pope Adrian, by all his letters, declared that he had conferred the benefice of the Roman empire on Frederick; "*Beneficium imperii Romani:*" this word *beneficium* literally ſignified a fief. Moreover, he publicly exhibited in Rome a picture of the emperor Lotharius II. on his knees before pope Alexander II. holding both his hands joined between thoſe of the pontiff, which was the diſtinguiſhing mark of vaſſalage; and on it was this inſcription:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Poſt homo fit papæ, ſumit quo dante coronam.

"The king appears at the gate and ſwears to maintain the honour of Rome, and he becomes the pope's vaſſal, who grants him the crown."

Frede-

Frederick, who was then at Beſançon*, hearing theſe proceedings, and having expreſſed his diſpleaſure at them, a cardinal then preſent made anſwer, "Of whom then does he hold the empire but of the pope?" Otho, count Palatine, was ſo enraged at this inſolent ſpeech, that he was very near running him through the body with the imperial ſword, which he held in his hand. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty. The Germans at that time cut all diſputes ſhort with the ſword; and the court of Rome ſheltered itſelf in the ambiguity of its expreſſions.

Roger, conqueror of the Muſſulmans in Sicily, and of the Chriſtians in Naples, had obtained the inveſtiture of thoſe countries by kiſſing the feet of pope Urban II. who reduced the ſervice or duty to ſix hundred gold *beſants* or *ſquiſates*, a coin in value about a piſtole. Pope Adrian IV. when beſieged by William in 1156, gave up to him ſeveral eccleſiaſtical pretenſions. He even conſented, that this iſland ſhould never have any legate, nor be ſubject to an appeal to the ſee of Rome, except when the king pleaſed. Ever ſince which time the kings of Sicily, though the only princes that are vaſſals of the pope, are as it were popes themſelves in that iſland. The Roman pontiffs, thus adored and abuſed, ſomewhat reſembled, if I may dare uſe the expreſſion, the idols which the Indians beat to obtain favours from them.

Adrian however fully revenged himſelf upon

* In the Franche Comté, as it is now called, a part of the kingdom of Burgundy, which had devolved to Frederick by marriage.

other kings who ſtood in need of him. He wrote thus to king Henry II. of England: "There is no doubt, and you know it very well, that Ireland, and all the iſlands who have received the faith, appertain to the church of Rome: now, if you want to take poſſeſſion of that iſland, in order to baniſh vice from thence, to enforce an obſervance of the laws, and with an intent of paying the yearly tribute of St. Peter's penny for every houſe, we with pleaſure grant you your requeſt."

If I may be allowed to make ſome reflections in this hiſtorical eſſay of the world, I cannot help obſerving that it is very ſtrangely governed. An Engliſh beggar, become biſhop of Rome, beſtows Ireland, by his own authority, on a man who wants to uſurp it. The popes had carried on more than one war about the inveſtiture by the croſier and ring; and Adrian ſends Henry II. a ring as a mark of the inveſtiture of Ireland. If a king had given a ring upon conferring a prebendary, he would have been guilty of ſacrilege.

The intrepid activity of Frederick Barbaroſſa was but barely able to ſubdue the popes who diſputed the empire, Rome who refuſed to acknowledge a maſter, and all the cities of Italy who ſtood up for their liberty. He had at the ſame time the Bohemians to repreſs, who had mutinied againſt him, and the Poles with whom he was at war; yet all this did he effect. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom. He quelled the tu-
1158 mults in Bohemia, which had already been erected into a kingdom by Henry IV. in 1086; and it is ſaid that the king of Den-

Denmark received the inveſtiture of his dominions from him. He ſecured the fidelity of the princes of the empire by rendering himſelf formidable to foreign nations, and flew back to Italy, who founded her hopes of liberty on the troubles and perplexities of this prince. On his arrival he found every thing in confuſion, not ſo much from the efforts of the ſeveral cities to recover their liberty, as from that party fury, which, as I have already obſerved, conſtantly prevailed at the elections of popes.

Adrian IV. dying, two oppoſite factions tumultuouſly elected the two 1160
perſons known by the names of Victor II. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies neceſſarily acknowledged the pope choſen by him; and the princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the ſhame and ſcandal of Rome, then became the ſignal of diviſion over all Europe. Victor II. Frederick's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and the one half of Italy on his ſide: the reſt ſubmitted to Alexander, in honour of whom the Milaneſe, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did thoſe of Frederick's party endeavour to have it named Cæſarea; the pope's name prevailed, and it was called *Aleſſandria de la paglia*‡, a ſurname which ſhews the difference between this little city, and others of that name formerly built in honour of the true Alexander.

Happy would it have been for the age, had

‡ Or, *Alexandria built of Straw*, on account of the meanneſs of its buildings and fortifications, ſo denominated in deriſion by the emperor Barbaroſſa.

it produced no other diſputes; but Milan, for attempting to regain its liberty, was, by the
1162 emperor's orders, razed to the foundations, and ſalt ſtrewed upon its ruins. Breſcia and Placentia were diſmantled by the conqueror, and the other cities who had aſpired at liberty were deprived of their privileges. But pope Alexander, who had ſtirred them all up to revolt, returned to Rome after the death of his rival; and at his return renewed the civil war. Frederick cauſed another pope to be elected, and this dying likewiſe, he nominated a third. Then Alexander III. fled over to France, the natural aſylum of every pope who was an enemy to the emperor; but the flames of diſcord he had raiſed continued to rage in their full force. The cities of Italy united together in defence of their liberty, and the Milaneſe rebuilt their city, in ſpite of the emperor. At length the pope by negotiating proved ſtronger than the emperor by fighting; and Frederick Barbaroſſa found himſelf obliged to give way. Venice had the honour of being the place of recon-
1177 ciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a great number of princes and cardinals repaired to this city, already become miſtreſs of the ſea, and one of the wonders of the world: the emperor there put an end to the diſpute by acknowledging the pope, kiſſing his feet, and holding his ſtirrup on the ſea-ſhore. All the advantage was on the ſide of the church. Frederick promiſed to reſtore all that belonged to the ſee of Rome; but ſtill the lands of the counteſs Matilda were not ſo much as mentioned. The emperor made a truce for ſix years, with

with the cities of Italy: Milan, now rebuilt, with Pavia, Breſcia, and many other towns, thanked the pope for having reſtored to them that precious liberty for which they had been fighting; and the holy father in a tranſport of joy exclaimed, "God has been pleaſed to permit an old man, and a prieſt, to triumph, without the aſſiſtance of arms, over a powerful and formidable emperor."

It is very remarkable, that during theſe long quarrels, though pope Alexander had often performed the ceremony of excommunicating the emperor, he never went ſo far as to depoſe him. This behaviour is not only a proof of this pontiff's great prudence, but likewiſe a general condemnation of the extravagance of Gregory VII.

All things being quiet in Italy, Frederick ſet out for the holy wars, where he loſt his life by bathing in the Cydnus, being ſeized with the ſame diſorder as that which Alexander the Great had formerly with great difficulty recovered from, when he plunged himſelf, while in a ſweat, into that river. Probably this illneſs was a pleuriſy. 1190

Frederick had carried his pretenſions farther than any other emperor before him had done; he had cauſed a decree to be made by the doctors of the law at Bologna, in 1158, ſetting forth, that the empire of the whole world of right belonged to him, and that to maintain the contrary was hereſy. But there was ſomething more real in the oath of allegiance which the ſenate and people of Rome ſwore to him at his coronation, which however became of none effect, after pope Alexander III. had got the better

of him at the congreſs of Venice. Iſaac Angelus, emperor of Conſtantinople, gave him no other title than that of the church of Rome's lawyer; and certainly Rome uſed her lawyer as ill as poſſible.

As to pope Alexander, he lived four years longer in a glorious tranquility, the darling of Rome, and of all Italy. He enacted, in a numerous council, that, for the future, it ſhould be ſufficient to have two thirds of the cardinals votes only, to declare a pope duly elected: and yet this regulation could not prevent the ſchiſms, which were afterwards cauſed by what they call in Italy *la rabbia papale*‡.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Emperor HENRY VI. and of ROME.

THE diſputes between Rome and the empire ſtill continued to ſubſiſt, with a greater or leſs degree of rancour.

1191 Writers tell us, that when Henry VI. ſon to the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa, kneeled down to receive the imperial crown at the hands of old pope Celeſtine III. who was upwards of eighty, that haughty pontiff, with a ſtroke of his foot, kicked the crown off the emperor's head. This is a very improbable fact; but it is enough that it gained credit, to ſhew to what length party animoſities were carried. If the pope had really behaved in

‡ The papal madneſs.

this

this manner, it would have been only an act of weakneſs.

But the crowning of Henry VI. furniſhed matters of far greater concern. This prince wanted to have poſſeſſion of the two Sicilies; and, in order to obtain it, condeſcended, though an emperor, to receive from the pope the inveſtiture of thoſe very ſtates which had originally paid homage to the empire, and of which he at the ſame time looked upon himſelf as hereditary proprietor, and lord-paramount. He demands of the pope to be received as his liege-vaſſal, and the pope refuſes him. The Romans were not willing to accept him for a neighbour, nor the Neapolitans for a maſter; but he made himſelf ſo in ſpite of them. The princeſs Conſtance, daughter to king William II. was the only one remaining of the lawful line of the Norman conquerors, and ſhe was married to this Henry VI. Tancred, a baſtard of that line, had been acknowledged king by the people and the ſee of Rome. The diſpute then was, who ſhould wear the crown, Tancred who poſſeſſed it by right of election, or Henry who claimed in right of his wife? This was to be decided by arms; and the Sicilians in vain, after the death of Tancred, proclaimed his young ſon: Henry's for- 1193
tune prevailed; and one of the baſeſt acts that a ſovereign could be guilty of, proved the means of his ſucceſſes.

The intrepid king of England, Richard *cœur de lion*, in returning from a cruſade, was caſt away near the coaſt of Dalmatia: he enters the territories of the duke of Auſtria. This prince violates the laws of hoſ- 1194

pitality, loads the king of England with chains, and afterwards ſells him to the emperor, as the Arabs do their ſlaves. Henry gets a large ſum for his ranſom‡, and with this money he makes the conqueſt of the two Sicilies: he then cauſes the body of king Tancred to be taken out of his grave; and, by an act of barbarity equally idle and execrable, orders the head to be ſevered from the lifeleſs trunk by the hands of the executioner. The young prince, ſon to Tancred, has his eyes put out, is caſtrated, and afterwards confined in a dungeon at Coira, a town in the country of the Griſons. His mother and his ſiſters are ſhut up in Alſace, all the friends of this unhappy family, of whatſoever rank or degree, are put to death by tortures, and the royal treaſures are carried away into Germany.

Thus did the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily paſs to Germans, after having been conquered by Frenchmen; and thus did twenty provinces fall under the dominion of princes whom nature had placed at three hundred leagues diſtance from them: an eternal ſubject of diſcord, and a proof of the wiſdom of the *Salique* law, a law which would be ſtill more advantageous to a ſmall ſtate than to a large one. Henry VI. was at that time much more powerful than his father Frederick Barbaroſſa had been; he was in a manner deſpotic in Germany, he was ſovereign of Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, and lord-paramount at Rome, where he made all tremble. But his cruelty proved his deſtruction; for it is ſaid that his own wife Con-

‡ His ranſom was fixed in the diet of Worms, at one *hundred* and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver.

ſtan-e,

ſtance, whoſe family he had ſo barbarouſly exterminated, conſpired againſt the tyrant, and took him off by poiſon. 1198

Upon the death of Henry VI. the empire of Germany was divided. This was not the caſe of France; its kings having been either prudent or fortunate enough to ſettle the order of ſucceſſion. But the imperial title affected by Germany, had proved the means of making the crown elective. Every biſhop, or great lord, had a right to give his vote. This right of electing, and being elected, flattered the ambition of princes, and not unfrequently cauſed many ills to the ſtate.

Young Frederick II. ſon to Henry VI. was but juſt out of his cradle, 1198 when he was elected emperor by a faction, and gave the title of *King of the Romans* to his uncle Philip. Another party choſe Otho of Saxony. The popes reaped an advantage from theſe troubles in Germany of a different nature to what the emperors had done by thoſe in Italy.

Innocent III. the ſon of a gentleman of Agnani, in the neighbourhood of Rome, built the edifice of that temporal power, the materials of which his predeceſſors had been amaſſing during the ſpace of 400 years. The excommunicating of Philip, the attempting to dethrone young Frederick, the pretending to exclude for ever from the throne of Germany and Italy, the houſe of Suabia, ſo odious to the popes, and the ſetting themſelves up for the judges of kings, was become the common language ſince the time of Gregory VII. But Innocent III. did not ſtop at theſe trifling ceremonies: a fair opportunity offered, which he readily embraced,

of

of obtaining the patrimony of St. Peter, which had been ſo long conteſted, and which was a part of the inheritance of the famous counteſs Matilda.

He now ſaw himſelf acknowledged as ſovereign in Romagnia, Umbria, the Marche of Ancona, Orbitello, and Viterbo; in ſhort, his dominion extended from ſea to ſea. The Romans had not carried their conqueſts farther in the four firſt ages of their republic, nor were theſe countries of ſuch value to them as they were to the popes. Innocent III. conquered even Rome itſelf; and the new ſenate, no longer that of Rome, but the pope's, bowed at his nod. He alſo aboliſhed the title of conſul. The Roman pontiffs now began to be kings indeed; and religion concurring with the times, made them likewiſe the maſters of kings. But this great temporal power in Italy was not of long duration.

Hiſtory does not furniſh us with any thing more intereſting than what paſſed at this time between the heads of the church, France, Germany, and England. Rome was always the maſter-ſpring that gave motion to the affairs of Europe. We have ſeen the diſputes between the prieſthood and the empire down to pope Innocent III. and to the emperors Philip, Henry, and Otho, while Frederick II. was yet in his minority. We muſt now caſt our eyes upon France, and the intereſts which thoſe kingdoms had to diſpute with Germany.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

The State of FRANCE and ENGLAND, 'till the Reigns of ST. LEWIS, JOHN LACKLAND, and HENRY III. during the twelfth Century. Great Changes in the public Adminiſtration in ENGLAND and FRANCE: the Murder of THOMAS BECKET, Archbiſhop of CANTERBURY: ENGLAND made a Fief to the See of ROME, &c.

THE feudal government was eſtabliſhed almoſt all over Europe, and the laws of chivalry were every where the ſame: in France in particular it was eſtabliſhed, that if the lord of a fief ſaid to his liege-man, "Come along with me, for I want to wage war againſt the king, my ſovereign, who refuſes to do me juſtice;" the liege-man was immediately to go to the king, and aſk him if it was true that he had refuſed to do juſtice to ſuch a lord. If the king did refuſe it, the liege-man was obliged to join his lord, and to march with him againſt the king the limited number of days, or loſe his fief: ſuch a regulation might not improperly be termed, *An ordinance for waging civil war.*

King Lewis the Fat was almoſt always employed in waging war with his barons, within ſeven or eight leagues of Paris.

Lewis the Young had acquired very large demeſnes by marriage, but he loſt them all again by a divorce. He had received affronts from his wife Eleonora, who was heireſs of Guienne and Poitou, that a great king ſhould have overlooked. Tired with accompanying him in theſe famous

and

and unfortunate crusades in which he was engaged, she had made herself amends, to use her own expression, for the tedious hours she was obliged to spend with a king who was fitter to be a monk. This coming to the king's knowlege, he annulled his marriage, under pretence of consanguinity. Lewis has been blamed by some for not keeping his wife's dowry, when he put her away; but such should consider, that a king of France was not powerful enough at that time to commit such an act of injustice.

Henry II. afterwards king of England, a descendant of William the Conqueror, and already possessed of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, was less difficult than Lewis the Young, and thought it no disgrace to marry a gay lady who brought him the countries of Guienne and Poitou for her dowry. Soon after he was raised to the throne of England, and paid homage for those territories to the king of France, who would have been glad to have paid it to him for the same possessions.

The feudal government was equally disagreeable to the kings of France, England, and Germany; and these princes undertook, almost at the same time, and by the same means, to raise troops independent of their vassals. King Lewis granted certain privileges to all the towns in his demesnes, on condition that each parish should repair to the army under the banner of the saint of their parochial church, in like manner as the kings themselves marched under the banner of St. Denis. Several bondmen were enfranchised at this time and made citizens, and the citizens had

had the privilege of chuſing their municipal officers, their ſheriffs, and their mayors.

We may date the epocha of this re-eſtabliſhment of the municipal government of the cities and boroughs, about the years 1137 and 1138. Henry II. of England granted the like privileges to ſeveral cities for a certain ſum, which he employed in raiſing troops.

The emperors followed much the ſame method in Germany. The city of Spires for example purchaſed in 1166 the privilege of chuſing their own burgomaſters, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their biſhop. Thus liberty, the natural privilege of mankind, aroſe from the indigence of princes: but this liberty was but a leſſer degree of ſervitude, compared with that enjoyed by the cities of Italy, who had then erected themſelves into republics.

The inhabitants of Upper Italy had formed a plan of government upon that of ancient Greece: moſt of theſe great cities having recovered their liberty, and being united in one common cauſe, ſeemed to bid fair to become a formidable republic; but they were quickly deſtroyed by great and little tyrants.

The popes had each of theſe cities to manage, together with the kingdom of Naples, Germany, France, England, and Spain, with all which they had ſome diſputes, and always came off with the advantage.

King Lewis the Young having, in 1142, excluded one of his ſubjects, named Peter la Chartre, from being made biſhop of Bourges, this man was choſen in ſpite of him; and being ſupported by the ſee of Rome, he laid all the king's demeſnes within his biſhopric under an inter-

interdict: this occaſioned a civil war, which continued 'till the king, by a treaty, acknowledged the biſhop, and intreated the pope to take off the interdict.

The kings of England were engaged in ſtill greater broils with the church; one of theſe kings, whoſe memory is moſt revered by the Engliſh, is Henry I. the third king from the Conqueſt, who began his reign in 1100. The Engliſh have him in grateful remembrance for eaſing them of the curfeu-law, which had ſo long been a reſtraint to them. He, like a wiſe legiſlator, ſettled one ſtandard for weights and meaſures throughout all his kingdom; a regulation which was eaſily executed in England, though it has been ſo often unſucceſsfully propoſed in France. This prince likewiſe confirmed the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, which had been abrogated by his father William the Conqueror. In fine, to engage the clergy in his intereſts, he renounced the right of *regale*, which gave him the uſufruct of all vacant benefices, a right which the kings of France have always preſerved.

But beſides all this he ſigned a charter of privileges, which he granted to the Engliſh nation, and which was the original ſource of thoſe liberties which afterwards became ſo greatly enlarged†. William the Conqueror had treated the Engliſh like ſlaves, whom he did not fear. Henry his ſon behaved more kindly to them, but it was becauſe he ſtood in need of them.

† He confirmed the privileges they had formerly enjoyed; and redreſſed the grievances which had been introduced after the Conqueſt.

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He was a younger brother, and had wreſted the ſceptre from his elder brother, Robert. This was the true cauſe of 1103 that great indulgence he ſhewed towards his ſubjects. But artful and abſolute as he was, he could not prevent his own clergy and the ſee of Rome from oppoſing theſe inveſtitures; and therefore found himſelf obliged to deſiſt, and content himſelf with the homage paid him by the biſhops for their temporalities.

As for France it was exempt from theſe troubles; the ceremony of the croſier and ring being not yet introduced into that kingdom.

The Engliſh biſhops at that time were little leſs than temporal princes in their own dioceſes; at leaſt they were equal in power and riches to the greateſt vaſſals of the crown. Under the reign of king Stephen, ſucceſſor to Henry I. a biſhop of Saliſbury, named Roger, who was married, and lived publicly with the woman he owned for his wife, made war againſt his ſovereign. In the courſe of this war one of his caſtles being taken, it is ſaid there were found therein 4000 marks of ſilver; which, reckoning eight ounces to the mark, amount to two millions of livres of the preſent money of France. An incredible ſum at a time when ſpecie was ſo ſcarce and commerce ſo greatly limited.

After the reign of this Stephen, which was continually diſturbed by civil wars, England put on a new face under Henry II. who united under his dominion Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Saintonge, Guienne, and Poitou, with all England, excepting only the county of Cornwall, which was

was not then conquered †. The whole kingdom now enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, when the public happineſs was diſturbed by the great diſpute between the king and Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury.

This Becket was a lawyer. He had been raiſed by Henry II. to the dignity of chancellor, and afterwards to that of archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the holy ſee. But no ſooner was he made the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, than he became an enemy to the firſt. A prieſt having committed a murder, the primate ordered him only to be deprived of his living. The king expreſſed his diſpleaſure at this partiality. He obſerved to him, that if a layman had been guilty of ſuch a crime he would have been puniſhed with death; and that it was encouraging the clergy to commit murder, in making the puniſhment ſo diſproportionate to the crime. The archbiſhop on his part maintained that no eccleſiaſtic could be puniſhed with death, and ſent the king back his patent for chancellor, to ſhew that he would be entirely independent. The king upon this called a parliament, where it was propoſed that no biſhop ſhould for the future be permitted to go to Rome; nor any of the king's ſubjects allowed to appeal to that ſee; nor any of his vaſſals or officers to be excommunicated or ſuſpended from their functions, without the permiſſion of the ſovereign; and laſtly, that all crimes committed by the clergy, ſhould be cognizable by the ordinary

† The author's meaning in this place is not eaſily underſtood. Cornwall had been long ſubject to the king of England. The conqueſt of Wales indeed Henry undertook.

dinary courts of juſtice. This motion was paſſed by all the temporal peers; but Thomas Becket at firſt refuſed his aſſent: however, he at length ſigned theſe juſt and ſalutary laws ‡; but afterwards made his excuſes to the pope, for having, as he ſaid, betrayed the rights of the church, and promiſed never to be guilty of the like conceſſions.

Being accuſed by the peers of miſdemeanors during the time of his chancellorſhip, he refuſed to make his defence, becauſe he was an archbiſhop; upon which he was condemned by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, to be impriſoned as a ſeditious perſon; he then fled over to France, and repaired to the court of Lewis the Young, the hereditary enemy of Henry II. The king of England uſed every gentle and humane method to engage the archbiſhop to return to his duty; and in a voyage he made to France, he took Lewis the Young, his lord-paramount, for arbiter, to whom he expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "Let the archbiſhop act towards me as the holieſt of his predeceſſors has behaved towards the loweſt of mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." At length a feigned reconciliation was made between the king and the primate. Becket now returned to England; but it was only 1170 to excommunicate all the clergy, biſhops, canons, and curates, who had voted againſt him. Theſe made their complaints in a body to the king, who was then in Normandy; and Henry's paſſion being raiſed to the higheſt pitch, he cried out, "Is there none of my

‡ Called the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, from the place where they were enacted.

ſer-

ſervants then that will rid me of this turbulent prieſt!"

Theſe words were certainly highly indiſcreet, and ſeemed to put the poniard into the hand of any aſſaſſin, who thought to ſerve the king by murdering a perſon who ought to have been puniſhed only by the laws.

1170 Accordingly four ſervants of the king's houſhold went directly to Canterbury, where they murdered the archbiſhop at the foot of the altar. Thus a perſon who deſerved to be proceeded againſt as a rebel, became a martyr, and the king was loaded with all the infamy and horror of this murder.

Hiſtory does not take notice of any puniſhment being inflicted on theſe four aſſaſſins †; It appears that the king was the only perſon who ſuffered for it.

We have already ſeen how pope Adrian IV. gave Henry II. permiſſion to uſurp Ireland. Pope Alexander III. ſucceſſor of Adrian, confirmed this permiſſion, on condition that the king ſhould ſwear that he had never commanded this murder; and that he ſhould repair bare-footed to the archbiſhop's tomb, and there receive diſcipline by the hands of the canons of the church of Canterbury. It would have been a great act to diſpoſe of Ireland, ſuppoſing Henry to have had a right to take poſſeſſion of it, and the pope to beſtow it; but it was greater ſtill to oblige a king powerful like Henry, to acknowledge his fault, and aſk pardon for it.

† They ſubmitted to the pope's judgment, repaired to Rome, and were ordered to make a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

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The king, whoſe children had revolted againſt him, finiſhed his penance, 1177
after he had completed the conqueſt of Ireland. He made a ſolemn renunciation of all the regal rights which he had maintained againſt Becket. The Engliſh condemn their king for this act of renunciation, as likewiſe for ſubmitting to the penance. He doubtleſs ought not to have ſo eaſily given up his rights; but he ought to have repented being acceſſary to murder†: the intereſts of mankind require that there ſhould be a curb to reſtrain ſovereigns, and ſecure the lives and liberties of the ſubject. This curb of religion might by univerſal agreement be lodged in the hands of the popes, as we have already obſerved; and the firſt pontiff by engaging in temporal quarrels only with a view to appeaſe them, by admoniſhing both princes and people of their reſpective duties, and reproving them for their faults, reſerving the thunder of excommunication for the puniſhment of the more atrocious crimes: by this behaviour I ſay, the popes might have made themſelves regarded as the expreſs images of God upon earth; but as it is, mankind are obliged to depend for their ſafety on the laws and manners of each country: The former of which are too often deſpiſed, and the latter corrupted.

† He was by no means guilty of the aſſaſſination: for though in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion he exclaimed, "That if he had friends about him, he ſhould not have been ſo long expoſed to the inſults of a babbling prieſt," (and even this circumſtance is diſputed) he no ſooner underſtood that four of his knights had privately departed, than ſuſpecting their deſign, he diſpatched meſſengers to overtake, and charge them in his name, that they ſhould commit no violence.

England enjoyed full tranquillity under Richard Coeur-de-Lion, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry II. This prince was unſucceſsful in his cruſades, but his country was not unhappy†. He had indeed ſome of thoſe diſputes with Philip Auguſtus, which are unavoidable between a lord-paramount and a potent vaſſal. But theſe did in no wiſe change the face of affairs in either kingdom. We ſhould look upon theſe kind of wars between chriſtian princes as epidemic diſeaſes, which though they may depopulate ſome provinces, make no alteration in the bounds, cuſtoms, or manners of a country. The moſt remarkable thing which fell out during theſe wars was Richard's taking from Philip his chancery, which he always carried with him, containing an account of his revenues and vaſſals, and a liſt of his ſlaves and freemen. After the loſs of this regiſter, the king of France was obliged to make a new one, in which his prerogative was rather increaſed than diminiſhed.

1194 Another event worthy of attention is, the impriſonment of a biſhop of Beauvais, who was taken in arms by king Richard. Pope Celeſtine ſent to Richard, reclaiming the biſhop, with theſe words: "You muſt reſtore me my ſon." But the king ſent the biſhop's armour to the pope, with this anſwer, taken from the ſtory of Joſeph, "Knoweſt thou thy ſon's garment?"

† It was as unhappy as a nation could be, in being drained of its men and money; and indeed utterly impoveriſhed by raiſing money to pay the king's ranſom.

We

We muſt further obſerve in relation to this church warrior, that if the feudal laws did not compel the biſhops themſelves to take up arms, they at leaſt obliged them to bring their vaſſals to the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army.

Philip Auguſtus ſeized upon the temporalities of the biſhops of Orleans and Auxerre, for not having complied with this abuſe, now become a duty. The biſhops, upon being condemned, began by laying the kingdom under an interdict, and finiſhed by aſking pardon.

We ſhall meet with other adventures of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in the courſe of the cruſades. John Lackland, his brother, who ſucceeded him, might have been the greateſt prince in Europe; for beſides the demeſnes left him by his father Henry II. he had alſo Brittany, which he uſurped from his nephew, prince Arthur, to whom this province had devolved in right of his mother. But by endeavouring to take what did not belong to him, he loſt all he had, and became an example of terror to all bad princes. He began by ſeizing on the kingdom of Brittany, which, as I have before ſaid, belonged to his nephew, Arthur, whom he took priſoner in an engagement, and confined in the caſtle of Rouen; nor was it ever known what became of this young prince. John has been accuſed by all Europe, and indeed not without reaſon, of having made away with him. Happily for the inſtruction of all kings, this crime is known to have been the firſt cauſe of all his misfortunes.

The feudal laws, which in other places gave birth to ſo many diſorders, here ſignalized them-

ſelves by an act of memorable juſtice. The counteſs of Brittany, mother to prince Arthur, preſented a petition to the court of peers in France, ſigned by all the barons of Brittany; in conſequence of which the king of England was ſummoned to appear before his peers. This ſummons was ſerved upon him at London, by the ſerjeants at arms. The accuſed king ſent over a biſhop to France to demand of Philip a ſafe-conduct for his perſon. "Let him come, replied Philip, he is free to do it." "Shall he have ſecurity for his ſafe return?" ſaid the biſhop. "Yes, reſumed the king, if the judgment of his peers permit it." But John not appearing, the peers of France paſſed ſentence of
1203 death upon him, and declared all his territories ſituated in France to be forfeited to the king. Philip loſt no time in putting himſelf in a condition to profit by the crime of the king his vaſſal. John ſeems to have been like moſt tyrannical kings, of a cowardly diſpoſition. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtripped of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, and retired to England, where he was equally hated and deſpiſed. For ſome time he found a reſource in the native pride and haughtineſs of the Engliſh nation, who could not bear the thoughts of their king being condemned by a court in France; but the barons of England ſoon grew weary of ſupplying a king with money who did not know how to make uſe of it. To compleat his misfortunes, John embroiled himſelf with the court of Rome about an archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom pope Innocent III. wanted to nominate of his own authority, in oppoſition to the laws of the country.

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This pope, under whom the holy see became so formidable, laid the kingdom of England under an interdict, and forbad John's subjects from paying him any obedience for the future. This ecclesiastical thunderbolt was at this time truly terrible, because the pope put it into the hands of Philip Augustus, to whom he made over the kingdom of England in perpetual inheritance, promising him the remission of all his sins if he succeeded in conquering it. He even granted the same indulgencies for this expedition as had been given to those who went to recover the Holy Land. The king of France did not now think proper to declare that the popes had no right to dispose of crowns: he had himself been excommunicated some years before†, and his kingdom laid under an interdict by this very pope Innocent III. for having attempted to marry another wife. He had then publicly declared the papal censures to be insolent and abusive; and had seized on the temporalities of every bishop and priest in the kingdom, who had shewed himself so bad a Frenchman as to pay obedience to the pope. But he thought quite differently when he saw himself commissioned by a bull to take possession of England. He now took back his wife, for divorcing whom he had incurred so many excommunications, and thought of nothing but putting the pope's sentence in execution. He employed a whole year in building a fleet of 1700 ships, and raising the finest army that had ever been seen in France. 1212

† In the year 1199.

The hatred which the Engliſh bore to king John, was equivalent to another army in favour of king Philip, who now prepared to ſet out on his expedition, while John on his ſide made a faſt effort to receive him in a proper manner; and hated as he was by the greater part of the nation, he found means, through the emulation that perpetually ſubſiſts between the Engliſh and the French, the indignation of the former at the pope's behaviour, and the prerogatives annexed to the crown, which are of no ſmall weight, to keep on foot for a few weeks an army of 60000 men, at the head of which he advanced as far as Dover, to receive the perſon who had condemned him in France, and was come to dethrone him in England.

All Europe now waited with impatience for a deciſive battle between the two kings, when the pope tricked them both, and artfully took that to himſelf which he had pretended to beſtow on Philip. This extraordinary negotiation was carried on and concluded by one Pandolfo, a ſubdeacon; a domeſtic of the pope's, and his legate in France and England. This man went over to Dover, under pretence of negotiating matters with the Engliſh barons in favour of the French king. Here he
1213 ſaw king John, to whom he took an opportunity of ſpeaking in theſe terms: "You are undone, ſir, the French fleet is going to ſet ſail; your troops will certainly deſert you; ſo you have only one reſource left, which is to put yourſelf under the protection of the holy ſee." John conſented to this propoſal, ſwore to ſubmit himſelf, and ſixteen barons took the ſame oath on the king's ſoul. A ſtrange oath!

oath! by which they obliged themſelves to the performance of conditions they did not know. The artful Italian ſo intimidated the king, and ſo worked upon the barons, that at length, on the 15th of May 1213, in the houſe of the knights templars, in the ſuburb of Dover, king John kneeling down, and holding his hands between thoſe of the legate, pronounced the following words:

"I John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my ſins, and out of my pure free will, and with the advice of my barons, do give unto the church of Rome, and to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, together with all the rights belonging to them; and will hold them of the pope as his vaſſal; I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my lord, and to his ſucceſſors lawfully elected: and I bind myſelf to pay him a tribute of one thouſand marks of ſilver yearly, to wit, ſeven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland."

The money was then put into the legate's hands, as the firſt payment of the tribute; after which the crown and ſcepter were likewiſe given to him. The Italian deacon trode the money under his feet, but he kept the crown and ſcepter five days; at the end of which he returned them to the king, as a favour from the pope their common maſter.

Philip Auguſtus was all this time waiting at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to ſea. The legate at length came back to let him know that he was no longer permitted

mitted to attack England, which was become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king taken under the protection of the holy ſee.

The donation which the pope had made to Philip of the kingdom of England, was now likely to become of fatal conſequence to him; for another excommunicated prince, nephew to king John, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, to oppoſe the deſigns of France, who began now to be too formidable. This excommunicated perſon was the emperor Otho IV. who at once diſputed the empire with young Frederic II. ſon to Henry VI. and Italy with the pope. He was the only emperor of Germany that had ever given battle in perſon to a king of France.

CHAP. XLI.

Of OTHO IV. and PHILIP AUGUSTUS in the thirteenth Century.

Of the battle of BOUVINES, and of ENGLAND and FRANCE, till the death of LEWIS VII. father to ST. LEWIS.

ALTHOUGH the ſyſtem of the balance of Europe was never ſufficiently explained till of late, yet it appears to have been always a maxim to unite againſt the preponderating powers. Germany, England, and the Low Countries, now took up arms againſt Philip Auguſtus, in the ſame manner as we have in our time ſeen them join together againſt Lewis XIV. Ferrand, count of Flanders, entered into

an alliance with the emperor Otho IV. This count was Philip's vaſſal; but that was the very reaſon which induced him to declare himſelf againſt him, as well as the count of Boulogne. This Philip was very near being cruſhed, for having accepted of a preſent made him by the pope. However, by his good fortune and great courage he extricated himſelf out of all theſe difficulties, with greater glory than had been acquired by any king of France before him.

Betwixt Liſle and Tournay lies a little village, called Bouvines, near to which Otho IV. at the head of an army upwards of one hundred thouſand ſtrong, advanced to attack king Philip, who had not above half that number. At that time they made uſe of the croſs-bow, a weapon which had been in uſe ever ſince the end of the twelfth century: but the fate of the day was chiefly decided by the weight of the cavalry, who were entirely clad in iron. This complete armour was a privilege of honour granted to the knights, which the eſquires could not pretend to, they not being permitted to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to be afraid of was being wounded either in the face when he lifted up the viſor of his helmet; or in the ſide, at the joints of the armour; or when knocked down, by having his coat of mail lifted up; or laſtly, under the arm-pit when he lifted up his arm to ſtrike. 1215

There were alſo other troops of cavalry raiſed from among the common people; theſe were not ſo well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, they made uſe of ſuch defenſive arms as they liked beſt; their weapons of of-

ſenſe were the ſword, the arrow, the club, and the ſling.

Philip's army was drawn up in battalia, by a biſhop; whoſe name was Guerin, and had been lately nominated to the biſhopric of Senlis. The ſame biſhop of Beauvais who had been ſo long kept priſoner by Richard Cœur-de-Lion, was alſo preſent at this battle: he always fought with a club, ſaying that it was contrary to the canons to ſpill human blood. It is not known in what manner either the emperor or the king ranged their troops. Philip, juſt before the onſet, ordered this pſalm to be ſung: *Exſurgat Deus & diſſipentur inimici ejus.* "Let the Lord ariſe and put his enemies to flight." As if Otho had taken up arms againſt God himſelf. Before this the French were accuſtomed to ſing verſes in praiſe of Charlemagne and Roland. Otho's imperial ſtandard was carried upon four wheels; this was a long pole, to which was faſtened a painted dragon, and over the dragon was raiſed an eagle of gilt wood. The royal ſtandard of France was a gilt ſtaff with white ſilk colours, ſowed with flower-de-lis; and what had been for a long time only the fancy of painters, was now become the arms of France. The old crowns of the kings of Lombardy, of which there are very exact prints in Muratori, are ſurmounted with this ornament, which is indeed nothing elſe but the head of a ſpear, faſtened with two other pieces of crooked iron.

Beſides the royal ſtandard, Philip Auguſtus had the oriflame of St. Denis carried before him. Whenever the king was in danger, one or other of theſe ſtandards was to be raiſed or lowered. Each knight had alſo his particular ſtandard,

ſtandard, and the great knights had other colours carried before them, which they called banners. This name banner, though ſo very honourable, was nevertheleſs common to all the colours carried by the infantry, which conſiſted almoſt entirely of bondmen. The military ſhout among the French was *mon jove Saint Denis*; that of the Germans was *Kyrie eleiſon*.

One proof that the knights completely armed ran no other riſk than that of being diſmounted, and were never wounded but by the greateſt accident, is, that king Philip being thrown from his horſe, was a long time ſurrounded by the enemy, and received ſeveral blows with all kinds of weapons, without loſing a drop of blood.

It is even ſaid, that while he was upon the ground, a German ſoldier attempted ſeveral times to pierce his neck with a ſpear that had a double hook, but could not compaſs it. Not one knight was killed in this battle except William Longchamps, who was unfortunately ſlain by a ſtroke in his eye, which was given him through the viſor of his helmet.

Among the Germans were reckoned five and twenty knights bannerets, and ſeven counts of the empire, made priſoners, but not one wounded.

The emperor Otho loſt the battle, in which it is ſaid there were thirty thouſand Germans killed; but probably the number is exaggerated. We do not find that the king of France made any conqueſt in Germany after the battle of Bouvines; but he gained a great increaſe of power over his vaſſals.

The greateſt loſer by this battle was king John of England, whoſe laſt hopes ſeemed centered in the emperor Otho. This emperor died ſoon after †, a true penitent. It is ſaid that he uſed to order his ſcullions to trample upon him, and to ſuffer himſelf to be ſcourged by the monks, agreeable to the opinion of the princes of thoſe times, who imagined, that by ſubmitting to a trifling diſcipline they could atone for the blood of ſo many thouſands.

There is no truth in what we find mentioned by many hiſtorians, that Philip on the very day he gained the battle of Bouvines, received the news of another victory obtained by his ſon, afterwards Lewis VIII. over king John. On the contrary, king John had gained ſome ſmall ſucceſſes in Poitou; but deprived of the aſſiſtance of his allies, he made a truce with Philip, of which indeed he had great occaſion; for his own ſubjects were now become his greateſt enemies: he was univerſally deſpiſed by them for having made himſelf the vaſſal of Rome; and the barons obliged him
1215 to ſign that famous charter, which is called *Magna charta*, or the charter of the liberties of England.

King John thought himſelf more degraded, by being obliged by this charter to leave his ſubjects in the quiet poſſeſſion of their natural rights, than by having made himſelf the ſubject of the ſee of Rome; and complained of it as the greateſt affront offered to his dignity: yet after all, what is there in this charter that can be ſaid to be injurious to the royal authority? for

† In 1218.

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inſtance, that at the death of an earl, his eldeſt ſon to enter into poſſeſſion of the fief, muſt pay to the king one hundred marks of ſilver, and a baron one hundred ſhillings: that none of the king's bailiffs are to take the horſes belonging to peaſants, without paying five pence a-day for each horſe? Whoever reads the charter throughout will only find that the rights of humankind have not been ſufficiently ſecured: he will ſee that the commons, who bore the heavieſt burthen, and rendered the greateſt ſervices to the ſtate, had no ſhare in a government which yet could never flouriſh without them. Nevertheleſs, John complained bitterly of this, and applied to the pope, his new ſovereign, for redreſs.

And now pope Innocent III. who had excommunicated the king, excommunicates the peers of England; at which they were ſo provoked, that they did the very ſame thing which the pope had done before: they offered the crown of England to the king of France. Philip Auguſtus, who had conquered Germany, and was in poſſeſſion of almoſt all king John's eſtates in France, on being called to the throne of England, acted like a profound politician, and prevailed on the Engliſh to aſk his ſon Lewis for their king. In vain did the pope's legates repreſent to Philip that king John was a feudatory of the holy ſee. Lewis, who had previouſly concerted the matter with the king his father, addreſſed him thus in the preſence of the legates: "Sir, I am your vaſſal for the fiefs I hold of you in France; but it does not belong to you to determine what concerns the kingdom of England; and if you do I ſhall appeal to my peers."

After having made this ſpeech he ſet out for England, notwithſtanding the public prohibitions of his father, who at the ſame time ſecretly ſupplied him with men and
1216 money. Innocent III. in vain thundered out his excommunications againſt both father and ſon. The biſhops of France declared that againſt the father void. Let us obſerve, however, that they did not dare to invalidate that againſt Lewis, which was tacitly acknowledging that the popes had a right to excommunicate princes. They could not indeed well diſpute this power of the popes, becauſe they aſſumed it themſelves: but they likewiſe reſerved to themſelves the right of determining whether the pope's ſentence of excommunication was juſt or not. The princes of thoſe times were in a very wretched ſituation, by being thus continually expoſed to excommunication, both in their own kingdoms and at Rome. But the people were ſtill more unhappy: the weight of the ſentence always fell upon them, and they ſeldom failed of being ſtripped by the war.

The ſon of Philip Auguſtus was proclaimed king in London: yet he did not omit ſending ambaſſadors to plead his cauſe before the pope. This pope enjoyed the ſame honour as the Roman ſenate had formerly done, of
1216 being the judge of kings; but he died before he paſſed his definitive ſentence.

John Lackland, after wandering in his own country, from town to town, died at the ſame time in a village in the county of Norfolk. A peer of France formerly conquered England,

and kept poſſeſſion of it, yet a king of France could not keep it.

Lewis VIII. was obliged, even in the life time of Philip Auguſtus to quit that very country which had invited him to be its king; and inſtead of defending his acquiſition, he engaged in the cruſade then carrying on againſt the Albigenſes, who at that time were ſlaughtered by thouſands, in compliance with the decrees iſſued by the court of Rome.

Philip Auguſtus died and left his territories increaſed by the acceſſion of Normandy, Maine, and Poitou; but the reſt of the poſſeſſions belonging to England were ſtill defended by a number of powerful lords. 1223

In the reign of Lewis VIII. one part of Guienne belonged to France, and the other to England. During this reign nothing happened remarkable or important, excepting the will made by Lewis in 1225, which indeed merits ſome attention.

By this will he bequeaths an hundred ſols to each of the two thouſand lazarettos in his kingdom. Thus we may perceive, that all the chriſtians got by the cruſades was this leprous infection: and it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the want of linen, and the naſtineſs of the people, greatly increaſed the number of theſe lepers. This name of lazarettos was not indifferently given to other hoſpitals; for we may find that by the ſame will the king bequeaths an hundred livres, current money, to two hundred hoſpitals. (*Hôtels Dieu.*)

The legacy which this ſame king left of thirty thouſand livres to his wife, the famous queen of Caſtile, amounted to fifty-four thouſand

ſand livres of the preſent money. I often inſiſt upon the particular valuation of money, becauſe I look upon it as the pulſe of a ſtate, and the ſureſt way of knowing its ſtrength. For inſtance, it is evident that Philip Auguſtus was the moſt powerful prince of his time, ſince independently of the jewels he left behind him, the ſums ſpecified in his will amounted to near nine hundred thouſand marks, of eight ounces to the mark, which is worth forty-five millions preſent money, reckoning fifty livres to the mark: but there muſt certainly be ſome miſtake in this calculation, for it is hardly probable, that a king of France who had no other revenue than what aroſe from his private demeſnes ſhould have been able to leave ſo large a ſum behind him. The power of all the kings of Europe at that time conſiſted in having a great number of vaſſals ready to march under their command, and not in being poſſeſſed of ſufficient riches to enſlave them.

CHAP. XLII.

Of FREDERICK II. and his quarrels with the POPES, and the GERMAN EMPIRE.

TOWARDS the beginning of the thirteenth century, while Philip Auguſtus was ſtill upon the throne, while Lewis VIII. was ſtripping John Lackland of his dominions; and that after the death of John and Philip Auguſtus, Lewis, driven from England by Henry III. left him that kingdom, and returned to reign

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in France; during this time, I ſay, the cruſades or perſecutions againſt the Albigenſes were exhauſting Europe. The emperor Frederick II. made the wounds of Italy and Germany, which were not yet well cloſed, bleed a-freſh. The diſpute between the imperial crown and the Roman mitre, the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines, and the animoſities between the Germans and Italians, diſturbed the public peace more than ever. Frederick II. who was ſon to Henry VI. and nephew to Philip, enjoyed the empire which his competitor Otho IV. had reſigned before his death.

The emperors were at that time much more powerful than the kings of France; for beſides Suabia and the other large territories which Frederick had in Germany, he was alſo in poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily by inheritance. Lombardy belonged to him in right of the long poſſeſſion of former emperors; but that right was little regarded by the Italian cities, who were become enthuſiaſts in their notions of liberty. At that time Germany was in a ſtate of anarchy and rapine, which laſted for a conſiderable time; and this latter was grown to ſuch an height, that the great lords reckoned as a part of their privileges to be robbers on the high-ways in their own territories, and to coin falſe money: but Frederick II. at the diet of Egra, held in 1219, obliged them to take an oath never to exerciſe ſuch privileges for the future; and to ſet them an example, he gave up the right which had always been claimed by his predeceſſors, of taking poſſeſſion of the eſtates of all biſhops at their demiſe.

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The moſt brutal and ridiculous cuſtoms were eſtabliſhed in thoſe times. The lords had ſet up a number of imaginary rights, and among the reſt, that of prelibation, by which they claimed the firſt night's lodging with the new married bride of their menial vaſſals. The biſhops and abbots claimed the ſame right, as being great barons; and ſome of them have, even in the laſt century, obliged their ſubjects to pay them an acknowledgment for remiſſion of this unaccountable privilege, which ſpread over the provinces in Scotland and France. Such were the prevailing manners in the times of the cruſades.

Italy indeed was not quite ſo plunged in barbariſm, but it was not leſs unhappy. The quarrel between the empire and the pontificate had given birth to the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines, which divided whole cities and families.

Milan, Breſcia, Mantua, Vicenza, Padua, Trevigi, Ferara, and almoſt all the cities of Romania under the protection of the pope, had combined together againſt the emperor.

He had for him Cremona, Bergamo, Modena, Parma, Reggio, and Trent. A great many other towns were divided between the parties of the Guelphs and Gibellines. Thus Italy became the theatre not of one war only, but of an hundred civil wars, which by inflaming the minds, and exciting the reſentment of the Italian potentates, accuſtomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poiſoning and murder.

Frederick II. was born in Italy: he had a great fondneſs for that agreeable climate, and, on the contrary, could not bear either the country

try or the manners of Germany, from which he was abſent fifteen whole years. It appears plainly that his chief deſign was to fix the throne of the new Cæſars in Italy. This is the true ſecret of all the quarrels he had with the popes, in which he by turns employed both cunning and violence; and the holy ſee on its part took care to fight him at his own weapons.

Honorius III. and Gregory IX. being unable to reſiſt him at firſt, wiſely reſolved to keep him at a diſtance, and ſent him upon a war to the Holy Land. Such was the prejudice of thoſe times, that the emperor was obliged to make a vow of engaging in this expedition, for fear the people ſhould think him not a Chriſtian. But as policy had determined him to make this vow, the ſame policy fur- 1228
niſhed him with means for deferring his voyage.

Gregory IX. thereupon excommunicated him, agreeably to the cuſtom of thoſe times. Upon this Frederick ſets out, and, while he is making a cruſade at Jeruſalem, the pope engages in another againſt him at Rome. The emperor, after making a treaty with the ſultans, returns to defend himſelf againſt the machinations of the pontiff, and, in the territories of Capua, meets with his own brother-in-law John of Brienne, titular king of Jernſalem, at the head of a body of troops furniſhed by the pope, who bore on their ſhoulders as a badge, the two croſs-keys. The Gibelline party, who were with the emperor, wore the ſign of the croſs; an engagement enſued, in which the croſſes ſoon put the keys to flight.

Gregory

Gregory had now no other reſource left, but to ſtir up Frederick's ſon Henry, king of the Romans, againſt his father; as his predeceſſors Gregory VII. Urban II. and Paſcal II. had done by the ſons of Henry IV. But Fre-
1235 derick, more fortunate than Henry IV. made himſelf maſter of the perſon of his rebellious ſon, depoſed him at the famous diet of Mentz, and condemned him to perpetual impriſonment.

Frederick, however, found it an eaſier matter to get his ſon condemned by this Germanic diet, than to prevail on it to grant him either money or troops to make the conqueſt of Italy. He had ſtill forces ſufficient to make the war bloody in that country, but not to enſlave it altogether; the Guelphs, who were of the pope's party, and the great ſticklers for liberty, being always ſufficiently powerful to counterbalance the Gibellines, who were on the ſide of the emperor.

Sardinia became another ſubject of war between the empire and the pontificate; this naturally produced an excommunication; however, in 1238, the emperor made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole of that iſland. Then Gregory publicly accuſed him of unbelief; "We have proofs, ſaid he in his circular letter of July 1, 1239, that he has publicly declared, that the world has been cheated by three impoſtors, Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt, and Mahomet; but he makes Jeſus Chriſt far inferior to the other two; they, ſays he, having lived in ſplendor and glory, whereas the other was a perſon ſprung from the dregs of the people, and preached his doctrines only to thoſe of his own rank.

rank. The emperor, continues Gregory, maintains, that the one only God, creator of the univerſe, could not be born of a woman, eſpecially of a virgin."

Theſe accuſations, which had nothing to do with the quarrel about Sardinia, did not hinder the emperor from keeping what he had gotten poſſeſſion of: the diſputes between Frederick and the ſee of Rome were never on religious points; and yet the popes thundered out their excommunications againſt him, waged a kind of religious war upon him, and at length depoſed him. A cardinal called James, who was biſhop of Paleſtine, brought letters with him into France from this pope Gregory to young Lewis IX. whereby his holineſs, having depoſed Frederick II. does, by his own private authority, transfer the imperial crown to Robert count of Artois, brother to the young king of France. Gregory certainly took a wrong time for this embaſſy; France and England were then engaged in war with each other, and the French barons, who were up in arms in the minority of Lewis, were ſtill very powerful, though he was now come of age. They are ſaid to have declared, in anſwer to Gregory's offer, that they did not think the brother of a king of France had any occaſion for the imperial crown; and that they looked upon the pope to have ſtill leſs religion than Frederick himſelf. But ſuch a reply ſounds too improbable to be true.

Nothing can give us a better idea of the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe times, than what paſſed in regard to this propoſal of the pope.

He applied to the monks of the abbey of Citteaux, whither he knew St. Lewis was to come

come with his mother on a pilgrimage, in theſe terms: "Beſeech the king that he will take the pope under his protection againſt that ſon of Satan, Frederick; the king ought to receive me into his kingdom, in the ſame manner as my predeceſſor Alexander III. was received there when perſecuted by Frederick I. and St. Thomas of Canterbury when troubled by Henry II. of England."

The king came to Citteaux, where he was received by five hundred monks, who conducted him to the chapter; there they all fell on their knees before him, and, with uplifted hands, beſeeched him to permit the pope to come into France. Lewis placed himſelf likewiſe on his knees before the monks, and gave them his ſolemn promiſe to defend the church; but at the ſame time told them in plain terms, that he could not receive the pope in his kingdom, without the concurrence of his barons, whoſe advice a king of France ought always to follow. In the interim Gregory died; but the ſpirit of the Roman church ſurvived him: Innocent IV. who, when cardinal, was a friend to the emperor Frederick, being now made pope, became of conſequence his enemy, and at all events determined to weaken the imperial power in Italy, and by that means repair the error which pope John XII. had been guilty of, in calling the Germans over to Rome.

1245 Innocent IV. after ſeveral fruitleſs negociations, calls the famous council of Lyons, which has the following inſcription, yet to be ſeen in the Vatican library: "The thirteenth general council, and the firſt of Lyons; here Frederick II. was declared an

an enemy to the church, and deprived of the imperial diadem."

It may ſeem a bold attempt to dethrone an emperor in one of the imperial cities; but the city of Lyons was under the protection of France, and its archbiſhops had ſeized upon the royal revenues. Frederick did not neglect to ſend proper advocates to plead his cauſe before this council, where he knew he was to be accuſed.

The pope, who had made himſelf judge, and preſided at this council, acted alſo the part of his own advocate; and, after inſiſting ſtrongly on the right of temporalities in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the patrimony left by the counteſs Matilda, he proceeded to accuſe Frederick publicly of having made peace with the Infidels, of having had ſeveral Mahometan concubines, of not believing in Jeſus Chriſt, and, in fine, of being an heretic. But how can a perſon be at the ſame time an unbeliever and an heretic? and indeed how was it poſſible for men in thoſe times to be capable of drawing up ſuch charges? John XII. Stephen VIII. Frederick I. Frederick II. the chancellor des Vignes, Manfred, the uſurper of Naples, and ſeveral others, had undergone the ſame imputations.

The emperor's delegates ſpoke in his defence with a becoming reſolution, and accuſed the pope in their turn of uſury and rapine. There were alſo at this council ambaſſadors from France and England; theſe complained as much againſt the popes as the pope had done of the emperor: "You and your Italians, ſaid they, draw upwards of ſixty thouſand marks a-year from the kingdom of England; it is but very lately

lately that you ſent us a legate, who has diſpoſed of all the livings in the kingdom in favour of Italians: he raiſes the moſt exorbitant taxes upon all religious houſes, and excommunicates whomſoever complains of his oppreſſions. Let theſe grievances therefore be ſpeedily redreſſed, for we will no longer bear with them."

The pope bluſhed at this ſpirited harangue, but made no reply; and proceeded to pronounce ſentence of depoſition againſt the emperor. It is well worthy of obſervation, that he pronounced this ſentence not, as he ſaid, with the approbation of the council, but in preſence of the council; all the fathers kept the wax-tapers lighted while the pope was pronouncing the ſentence, and then extinguiſhed them; one party ſigned the deciſion, and the other went out ſighing with indignation.

The emperor was then at Turin, which did not at that time belong to the houſe of Savoy, but was a fief of the empire, and governed by the marquis of Suſa. Upon receiving the news of his depoſition, he called for a certain caſket, and opening it, drew forth the imperial crown; which holding in his hand, "The pope and his council, ſaid he, have not yet taken thee from me, and ere they can, much blood ſhall be ſpilt." He immediately afterwards ſet about writing circular letters to all the princes of Germany, and the reſt of the empire; theſe letters were dictated by the famous chancellor Peter des Vignes, who was ſo ſtrongly accuſed of having written the book of the Three Impoſtors.

"I am

"I am not the firſt prince, ſaid he in theſe letters, whom the clergy have treated with ſuch indignity, nor ſhall I be the laſt; you are the cauſes of it, by paying obedience to theſe hypocrites, whoſe boundleſs ambition you are ſufficiently acquainted with. How many infamous actions, ſhocking to modeſty, might you, if you were willing, diſcover in the court of Rome? Slaves to the times, and intoxicated with pleaſures, the greatneſs of their riches and power ſeem to have ſtifled in them all ſenſe of religion. It is a deed of charity to ſtrip them of a part of this load of pernicious wealth which bows them down to ruin; and herein it is your duty to join your endeavours to mine, &c."

The pope in the mean time having declared the empire vacant, wrote to ſeveral princes and biſhops, namely, the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, Auſtria, and Brabant; the archbiſhops of Saltzburg, Cologne, and Mentz. This has given room for the ſuppoſition that ſeven electors were then ſolemnly eſtabliſhed; but the other biſhops and princes of the empire each laid claim to the ſame right.

Thus did the emperors and the popes mutually endeavour to depoſe each other; and their grand policy conſiſted in raiſing civil wars.

Conrad, ſon to the emperor Frederick, had been already elected king of the Romans in Germany, but in compliance with the pope it now became neceſſary to elect a new emperor; but neither the dukes of Saxony, of Brabant, Bavaria, or Auſtria, nor yet any other prince of the empire, was concerned in this election, the new emperor being choſen entirely by the biſhops of Straſburg, Wirtſburg, Spires, and Metz,

Metz, with thoſe of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne. The perſon they made choice of was a landgrave of Thuringia, who was ſtiled *King of the Prieſts.*

What a ſtrange kind of an emperor had Rome now gotten! a landgrave who received the crown only from a few biſhops of his own country. The pope now renewed the cruſade againſt Frederick; it was proclaimed by the preaching friars, now called Dominicans, and the minor friars, now called Cordeliers or Franciſcans. This new militia of the popes began about this time to be eſtabliſhed in Europe; the holy ſee did not however confine itſelf to theſe meaſures, but engaged in conſpiracies againſt the life of an emperor, who had dared to reſiſt the decree of a council, and oppoſe the whole body of monks and cruſaders; at leaſt we know, that the emperor complained of the pope's having countenanced plots againſt his life, and that the pope never made any reply to theſe complaints.

The ſame prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor, made another after the death of their Thuringian; this was a count of Holland. Thus the pretenſions of Germany to the Roman empire, only ſerved to tear it in pieces. Theſe very biſhops who had joined in aſſuming the power of electing emperors, now fell out among themſelves; and their count of Holland was ſlain in the civil war.

Frederick II. was obliged to ſtruggle with the popes from the farther end of Si-
1249 cily to the extremity of Germany. It is ſaid, that when he was in Apulia, he diſcovered that his phyſician, who had been ſeduced by pope Innocent IV. had formed the deſign

design of poiſoning him. This fact appears doubtful to me; but in all the doubts raiſed by the hiſtory of theſe times, the only queſtion is concerning the greater or leſs degree of atrocity.

Frederick ſeeing with horror that it was impoſſible for him to truſt with ſafety his life in the hands of Chriſtians, was obliged to take Mahometans for his guard. It is ſaid, however, that theſe could not ſecure him againſt the furious revenge of Manfred, one of his baſtards, who ſtrangled him in his laſt illneſs. However that be, this great and unhappy emperor, who was king of Sicily from his cradle, having worn for thirty-eight years the empty crown of Jeruſalem, and the imperial diadem fifty-four, (he having been declared king of the Romans in 1196) died at the age of fifty-ſeven, in the kingdom of Naples, and left the world in as great confuſion at his death, as it was at his birth. Notwithſtanding all the troubles he had to ſtruggle with, he left his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily greatly embelliſhed and improved by his care; he built towns, founded univerſities, and gave a kind of new life to learning. The Italian language, which was a compound of the Roman ‡ and Latin, began firſt to take a form in his reign; 1250

‡ The *Romance*, which is the ſame, we ſuppoſe, our author calls the *Roman Tongue*, was no other than a corrupted Latin, mixed with the language ſpoken by the Barbarians who deluged the empire. It was alſo called *Provencal*, becauſe uſed in Provence; and ſome ſpecimens of it are ſtill extant; particularly a copy of verſes by Richard Cœur de Lion, publiſhed in Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors.

and there are verſes of his extant, in that tongue. But the numberleſs vexations and oppoſitions he had to encounter, did as much prejudice to the growth of the liberal ſciences, as they did to his great and uſeful deſigns.

From the death of Frederick II. to the year 1268, Germany remained without a head, but not in the ſame manner as Greece had been, or antient Gaul, or ancient Germany, or Italy before it became ſubjected to the Romans: Germany was neither a republic, nor a country divided between ſeveral ſovereigns, but a body without a head, whoſe members tore each other in pieces.

This diſtracted ſtate of Germany furniſhed a fine opportunity for the popes to have embraced, but they neglected it, and even ſuffered the loſs of Breſcia, Cremona, Mantua, and ſeveral other ſmall towns. There wanted now a warrior pope to recover theſe again, but few of the pontiffs were of that character: they ſhook the whole world indeed with their bulls, and diſpoſed of kingdoms at their pleaſure. In 1247 the pope, of his own pure authority, proclaimed Haquin, king of Norway, and made him legitimate, who was born a baſtard; one of his legates crowned this new monarch, and received from him a tribute of fifteen thouſand marks of ſilver, and five hundred more of the churches of Norway, which, in all probability, was at leaſt one half of the money then circulating, in ſo poor a country.

1251 This ſame pope Innocent IV. created likewiſe one Mandoc king of Lithuania, but he was to hold his crown as de-

pendant on the ſee of Rome: "We receive, ſaid his holineſs in his bull, dated the 15th July, 1251, this new kingdom of Lithuania, as the right and property of St. Peter, taking you, your wife and children, under our protection." This was in ſome manner imitating the grandeur of the old Roman ſenate, which was wont to beſtow the titles of kings and tetrarchs. Lithuania was not however a kingdom, nor was it till near a century after, that its inhabitants were prevailed on to embrace Chriſtianity.

The popes then talked like maſters of the univerſe, and yet were not able to be maſters at home; the diſpoſal of ſtates coſt them only paper, but they could not recover a ſingle village near Mantua or Ferrara, without having recourſe to intrigues.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in Europe: Germany and Italy were rent in pieces; France was yet feeble; Spain divided between the Chriſtians and Moors, which laſt were entirely driven from Italy; England began to diſpute for liberty with its kings; the feudal government was every where eſtabliſhed; chivalry was the prevailing faſhion; prieſts were become princes and warriors, and a ſyſtem of politics prevailed, different in almoſt every reſpect from that which at preſent influences the government of Europe. In fine, all the countries under the Roman communion ſeemed to form a large republic, of which the emperor and the popes wanted to be the head; and this republic, tho' divided, had for a long time agreed in the project of the cruſades, which have given birth to ſuch grand and infamous actions, to new king-

doms, new eſtabliſhments, new miſeries, and, in a word, have cauſed much more unhappineſs than glory.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the EAST at the Time of the CRUSADES.

RELIGIONS always laſt longer than empires; Mahometaniſm continued to flouriſh after the empire of the caliphs had been overthrown by the Turcomans. It is a needleſs trouble to ſearch for the origin of theſe Turks, it is the ſame as that of all other conquering people, they were at firſt ſavages, living upon rapine. The Turks formerly inhabited a country beyond mount Taurus and the Imaus, and, as ſome ſay, a great diſtance from the Araxes: they were comprehended among thoſe Tartars whom the ancients called by the name of Scythians. The great continent of Tartary, which is much larger than all Europe, has never been inhabited by others than Barbarians; and their antiquities are little more deſerving of a regular hiſtory than the bears and wolves of their country. About the eleventh century they extended themſelves towards Muſcovy, and over-ran the borders of the Caſpian and Black Sea. The Arabs, under the firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet, had ſubdued almoſt all Aſia Minor, Syria, and Perſia; at length the Turcomans came and ſubdued the Arabs.

A caliph of the line of the Abaſſides, called Motaſſem, ſon to the great Almamon, grandſon

grandſon of the famous Haroun Alraſchid, and cotemporary with our Lewis the Debonnaire, being, like his predeceſſors, a protector and encourager of the arts, laid the firſt ſtone of that edifice under which his ſucceſſors were at length cruſhed. This prince ſent for a body of Turkiſh militia to be his guard, and never was there a ſtronger example of the danger of introducing foreign troops; five or ſix hundred Turks, in the pay of Motaſſem, became the founders of the Ottoman power, which has ſwallowed up every other power from the Euphrates to the extremity of Greece; and in our time has even laid ſiege to the city of Vienna, the capital of the German empire. This Turkiſh militia growing in time more numerous, became at length fatal to its maſters. A freſh body of Turks now came in, and took advantage of the civil wars raiſed againſt the caliphs and their empire. The caliphs of Bagdat, of the race of the Abaſſides, ſoon ſaw themſelves ſtript of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, by the caliphs of the Fatimian line; and the Turks ſtript both of them.

Togrul Beg, or Ortogrul Beg, from whom they make the Ottoman race to deſcend, entered Bagdat nearly in the ſame manner as the emperors have entered into Rome; and made himſelf maſter of the perſon and capital of the caliph Caiem, while he proſtrated himſelf at his feet; he then conducted him to his palace, holding the reins of his mule: but having either better fortune or more ſkill than the German emperors when in Rome, he eſtabliſhed his power, and left nothing more to the caliph but the office of beginning prayers every Friday at

the moſque, and the empty honour of inveſting with their dominions all the Mahometan tyrants who thought proper to make themſelves ſovereigns.

It ſhould be remembered, that as the Turcomans imitated the Franks, the Normans, and the Goths, in their irruptions; they imitated them likewiſe in ſubmitting to the laws, cuſtoms, and religion of the people they conquered. In like manner did other Tartars behave to the Chineſe; and this is an advantage which every civilized people, though ever ſo weak, ought to have over Barbarians, though ever ſo ſtrong.

Thus the caliphs became only the chiefs of religion, like the dairi or high-prieſt of Japan, who has the appearance of reigning in Cuboſama, and indeed is obeyed in theſe dominions; or like the xerif of Mecca, who calls the ſultan of the Turks his vicar; or laſtly, ſuch as the popes were under the kings of Lombardy: though I am far from intending to compare the throne of error to that of truth; I am only comparing the revolutions which have happened to each, and remarking that the caliphs were once the moſt powerful ſovereigns of the Eaſt, while the Roman pontiffs were of little or no note. The empire of the caliphs however is now fallen beyond a poſſibility of recovery, and the popes are by little and little become mighty ſovereigns, confirmed in their power, and reſpected by the neighbouring nations; and have made Rome one of the moſt beautiful cities in the world.

At the time of the firſt cruſade, there was a caliph at Bagdat who beſtowed inveſtitures, and

and a Turkiſh ſultan who reigned. Several other Turkiſh uſurpers, with ſome Arabians, had ſettled themſelves in Perſia, in Arabia, and in Aſia Minor. Every thing was in a ſtate of diviſion, which ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to the cruſades; but then every one was up in arms, and theſe people were to be attacked in their own territories, where they muſt fight with the advantage greatly on their ſide.

The empire of Conſtantinople ſtill maintained its authority; it had been governed by ſome princes not unworthy of reigning. Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, ſon to Leo the Philoſopher, and himſelf a philoſopher, following the footſteps of his father, made his reign happy, and if the government fell into contempt under Romanus, the ſon of this Conſtantine, it became reſpectable again under the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, who recovered Candia in the year 961, before he became emperor. John Zimiſces indeed aſſaſſinated this emperor, and ſtained the imperial palace with the blood of his ſovereign: he even added hypocriſy to his other crimes; but then on the other hand he defended the empire againſt the invaſions of the Turks and Bulgarians. But Michael Paphlagonatus loſt Sicily, and Romanus Diogenes almoſt all that remained in the Eaſt, except the province of Pontus. That province, which is now called Turcomania, fell ſoon afterwards into the hands of Solyman the Turk, who now became maſter of the greateſt part of Aſia Minor, fixed the ſeat of his dominion at Nicea, from whence he threatened Conſtantinople with an invaſion, at the time that the cruſades were firſt ſet on foot.

The Greek empire then, on the ſide of the Turks, was almoſt confined to the imperial city, but it ſtill extended through all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Theſſaly, Thrace, Illyricum, and even included the iſle of Candia. The continual wars in which it was engaged againſt the Turks, though almoſt always unſucceſsful, ſerved to keep up the remains of courage in the people. All the rich Chriſtians of Aſia, who were unwilling to ſubmit to the Mahometan yoke, had retired into the imperial city, which by theſe means became enriched with the ſpoils of the provinces. In ſhort, notwithſtanding the various loſſes it had ſuſtained, notwithſtanding the vices and revolutions among its governors, this city, though in its decline, yet immenſe, populous, opulent, and the centre of voluptuouſneſs and pleaſure, ſtill conſidered itſelf as the capital of the world. The inhabitants no longer called themſelves Greeks, but Romans; their ſtate was a Roman ſtate; and the weſtern nations, whom they called Latins, were looked upon by them as a ſet of rebellious Barbarians.

Paleſtine was then what it is at preſent, the worſt of all the inhabited countries of Aſia. This little province, which is about forty-five leagues in length, and from thirty to thirty-five in breadth, is almoſt wholly covered with barren rocks, on which there is hardly an handful of earth: were it cultivated, it might be compared to Switzerland. The river Jordan, which in its broadeſt part is about fifty feet wide, reſembles the Aar, which flows through a valley leſs barren than the reſt of Switzerland; and the ſea of Tiberias may be likened

likened to the lake of Geneva. However, thoſe travellers who have examined both theſe countries, all give the preference to Swiſſerland. It is not unlikely that Judea might have been better cultivated when in poſſeſſion of the Jews; they were obliged to ſpread a little earth upon the face of the rocks, in order to plant their vines. This ſmall quantity of earth, mixed with the ſplinters of the rocks, was ſupported by low walls, the remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen at certain diſtances.

Notwithſtanding all this care, Paleſtine could never furniſh ſubſiſtence for its inhabitants; and as the thirteen cantons ſend out the ſuperfluity of their people to ſerve in the armies of foreign princes who are willing to take them into pay, in like manner the Jews all went abroad to follow the trade of brokers in Aſia and Africa; and as ſoon as Alexandria was built they ſettled there. The trading Jews hardly ever reſided in Jeruſalem; and I queſtion whether, in the moſt flouriſhing times of this little ſtate, it had any members ſo wealthy as the Hebrews who now live at Amſterdam and the Hague.

When Omar, who ſucceeded Mahomet, made himſelf maſter of the fruitful country of Syria, he took Paleſtine; and as the Mahometans look upon Jeruſalem as an holy city, he embelliſhed it with a magnificent moſque, built of marble, and covered with lead; the inſide adorned with a prodigious number of ſilver lamps, among which there were many of pure gold. When the Turks, who had already embraced Mahometaniſm, afterwards made themſelves maſters of this country in the year 1055; they paid

great reſpect to this moſque, and the city ſtill continued peopled with ſeven or eight thouſand inhabitants, which was the moſt its walls were then capable of containing, or the circumjacent country able to nouriſh. This people got their wealth almoſt entirely by the pilgrimages made to their city by the Chriſtians and Muſſulmans, the former to viſit the holy ſepulchre, and the latter the famous moſque. Every pilgrim paid a certain acknowledgment to the Turkiſh emir, who reſided in the city, and ſomething to the imans, who lived by ſhewing the curioſities of the place to thoſe who were deſirous of ſeeing them.

CHAP. XLIV.

Of the Firſt CRUSADE, till the taking of JERUSALEM.

SUCH was the ſtate of Aſia Minor, when a pilgrim of Amiens ſtirred up the cruſades: he was then known only by the name of Coucoupette, or Cucupietre, as we are told by the daughter of the emperor Comnenus, who ſaw this hermit at Conſtantinople: he is known to us by the name of Peter the Hermit. However, this man, who was a native of Picardy, and had all the obſtinacy of his countrymen, was ſo incenſed at the exactions which he had met with at Jeruſalem, talked of them at his return to Rome in ſuch ſtrong terms, and painted them forth in ſo ſtriking a light, that pope Urban II. thought him the moſt proper

perſon

perſon he could pitch upon to ſecond the grand deſign which the popes had a long time conceived of arming Chriſtendom againſt the Mahometans: accordingly he diſpatched Peter through all the provinces, to communicate, by the force of his ſtrong imagination, the warmth of his ſentiments, and to ſow the ſeeds of enthuſiaſm.

Urban II. at length held a council in the open fields, near Placentia, at 1094 which were preſent upwards of 30,000 ſeculars, beſides eccleſiaſtics. At this council they deliberated on the propereſt method of revenging the cauſe of Chriſtianity upon the infidels. Alexis Comnenus, the Grecian emperor, father to that princeſs who wrote the hiſtory of her times, ſent ambaſſadors to this council to demand aſſiſtance againſt the Muſſulmans; but he had no reaſon to expect it either from the pope or the Italians. The Normans had then taken Naples and Sicily from the Greeks. The pope, who wanted at leaſt to be lord-paramount of theſe kingdoms, being likewiſe the rival of the Greek church, became, in conſequence of this ſituation, the declared enemy of the eaſtern emperors, as he was in private of the emperors of the Weſt. The pope therefore was ſo far from ſuccouring the Greeks, that he aimed at bringing the whole Eaſt into ſubjection to the Latins.

But notwithſtanding the project of carrying the war into Paleſtine was ſo applauded by all the members of the council of Placentia, there were none who embraced it. The principal Italian lords had too much buſineſs of their own to manage at home, and would not quit a de-

lightful country, to go and fight on the borders of Arabia Petræa.

1095 The pope therefore found it neceſſary to call another council at Clermont in Auvergne, where he made a ſpeech in the market-place. In Italy they wept over the calamities of the Chriſtians in Aſia, but in France they took up arms for their defence. This country was peopled by a great number of new lords, who were reſtleſs, independant, and fond of a life of war and diſſipation, for the moſt part plunged in crimes that are the conſequences of debauchery, and in an ignorance equal to that debauchery. To theſe the pope promiſed the remiſſion of all their ſins, and to open to them the gates of heaven, only impoſing on them as a penance, the indulging of their favourite paſſion, for war and plunder. Upon this they ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt to take up the croſs; and then the churches and religious orders purchaſed for a trifling conſideration many of the eſtates of the lords, who ſuppoſed that they ſhould want only a very little money, and their own arms, to conquer kingdoms in Aſia. Thus, for example, Godfrey of Bouillon ſold his eſtate of Bouillon to the chapter of Liege, and Stenay to the biſhop of Verdun; Baldwin, this Godfrey's brother, ſold to this ſame biſhop the few poſſeſſions he had in that country. The inferior lords of manors ſet out at their own expence, and the poorer gentlemen followed them as ſquires. The ſpoils were to be divided according to the rank and expences of the cruſaders; this occaſioned ſome diſputes, but at the ſame time it proved a powerful motive to proceed,

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and religion, avarice, and reſtleſſneſs all conſpired to ſpur on theſe emigrations. They enliſted an infinite number of infantry and horſemen, under a thouſand different banners. This crowd of cruſaders made their rendezvous at Conſtantinople: monks, women, merchants, victuallers, mechanics, all ſet out, imagining that they ſhould find the road lined with Chriſtians, ready to gain indulgencies by furniſhing them with ſubſiſtence. Upwards of eighty thouſand of theſe vagabonds aſſembled under the banner of Coucoupetre, whom I ſhall for the future call Peter the Hermit, and who walked at the head of the army with ſandals on his feet, and a rope tied round his waiſt. A new ſpecies of vanity!

The firſt expedition of this hermit-general was the beſieging a Chriſtian city in Hungary, called Malavilla, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed to furniſh the ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt with proviſions, who, notwithſtanding the pretended ſanctity of their enterprize, behaved like a troop of highway robbers. The city was taken by aſſault, given up to plunder, and the inhabitants put to the ſword. The hermit was then no longer maſter of his cruſaders, who were intoxicated with the thirſt of plunder: one of his lieutenants, called *Gautier ſans Argent*, (or Walter the Moneyleſs) who commanded half of his forces, behaved in the ſame manner in Bulgaria. The countries through which they paſſed ſoon joined to oppoſe theſe public robbers, and they were almoſt all of them cut off; and the hermit, after the greateſt fatigues, arrived at length before Conſtantinople with twenty thouſand perſons ſtarving with hunger.

A German preacher called Godeſcalcus, attempting to play the ſame game, was ſtill worſe treated; for as ſoon as he arrived with his diſciples in that ſame kingdom of Hungary, where his predeceſſors had formerly committed ſo many exceſſes, the very ſight of the red croſs which they wore was like a ſignal, at which the natives fell upon them, and maſſacred every man.

Another tribe of theſe adventurers, compoſed of above two hundred thouſand perſons, women, prieſts, ſcholars, and peaſants, imagining that they were going to defend Jeſus Chriſt, thought they ought to exterminate all the Jews they found in their way. There were great numbers of theſe on the frontiers of France, and they had almoſt all the trade of the kingdom in their hands. The Chriſtians, thinking they were revenging the cauſe of God, fell upon theſe unhappy people, and put them all to the ſword. Never had this nation ſuffered ſo bloody a maſſacre ſince the time of Adrian: they were butchered at Verdun, Spires, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz; and numbers laid violent hands on themſelves, after having ripped open the bellies of their wives, to prevent their falling into the hands of their barbarous perſecutors. Hungary, however, proved the grave of this third army of cruſaders.

In the mean time Peter the Hermit, while he was lying before Conſtantinople, found a freſh recruit of Italian and German vagabonds, who joined him, and plundered all the country round the city. The emperor Alexis Comnenus, who governed at that time, was certainly a prince of great wiſdom and moderation; he contented himſelf with getting rid, as ſoon as poſſible,

poſible, of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, by furniſhing them with veſſels to tranſport them to the other ſide of the Boſphorus. General Peter at length ſaw himſelf at the head of a Chriſtian army, ready to give battle to the Muſſulmans. Soliman, ſultan of Nice, with a body of diſciplined troops, fell upon this ſcattered multitude, and Walter the Moneyleſs, with many of the poor nobility, were ſlain. The hermit, however, made his way back to Conſtantinople, where he was looked upon as a fanatic, who had enliſted a multitude of madmen to follow him.

This however was not the caſe with reſpect to the other chiefs of the cruſades, ſome of whom were more politic, had leſs enthuſiaſm, and were more accuſtomed to command; beſides, they had troops that were a little better diſciplined. Godfrey of Bouillon was at the head of ſeventy thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, armed cap-a-pee, under the banners of a great number of lords, who all ranged themſelves under his ſtandard.

In the mean time Hugh, brother to Philip I. king of France, marched through Italy, accompanied by ſeveral other lords, who had joined him, and went in ſearch of adventures; almoſt the whole of his fortune conſiſting in the title of brother to a king, who himſelf was not very powerful. But what appears ſtill more ſtrange is, that Robert duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of William the conqueror of England, left his dutchy, in which he was ſcarcely eſtabliſhed, and, after being driven out of England by his younger brother William Ruſus, mortgaged Normandy to him, to furniſh out the expences

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of this armament. He is ſaid to have been a debauched and ſuperſtitious prince, two qualities which always proceed from a weakneſs of underſtanding, and which now prompted him to engage in this expedition †.

Old Raymond, count of Toulouſe, who governed Languedoc and a part of Provence, and who had before fought againſt the Muſſulmans in Spain, did not think his age, or the intereſts of his country, ſufficient reaſons againſt the ardent deſire he had of viſiting Paleſtine: accordingly he was one of the firſt who appeared in arms, and ſoon after paſſed the Alps at the head of near one hundred thouſand men. He did not then foreſee, that very ſoon a cruſade would be preached up againſt his own family.

The moſt politic of all the cruſaders, and perhaps the only politician among them, was Bohemond, ſon to that Robert Guiſcard who conquered Sicily. This whole family, on its being tranſplanted into Italy, fought to aggrandize themſelves, ſometimes at the expence of the popes, ſometimes on the ruins of the Greek empire. This Bohemond had himſelf, for a long time, maintained a war againſt the emperor Alexis, both in Epirus and Greece. Having no other inheritance but the ſmall principality of Tarentum, and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthuſiaſm of Europe, to aſſemble under his banner ten thouſand horſemen well armed, and ſome infantry, with which he hoped to be able to conquer a few

† Robert was much more famous for his heroic valour, and good nature even to exceſs, than for his debauchery. He was alſo a generous patron of the liberal arts, and no *bad poet for* the times.

provinces, either from the Chriſtians or the Infidels.

The princeſs Anna Comnena obſerves, that her father was greatly alarmed at theſe prodigious emigrations which poured in upon his country. "One would have imagined, ſays ſhe, that all Europe, rent from its foundations, was going to fall upon Aſia." What would ſhe have ſaid then, had the three hundred thouſand men, part of which followed Peter the Hermit, and the reſt the prieſt Godeſcalcus, ſtill continued in being?

A propoſal was made to the pope, for him to put himſelf at the head of theſe immenſe armies which were ſtill left. This was the only ſure method of arriving at univerſal monarchy, which was now become the darling object of the court of Rome; but this enterprize, which pope Gregory VII. had indeed the boldneſs to conceive, required the genius of a Mahomet or an Alexander to execute. The obſtacles were numerous and great, and Urban conſidered only the obſtacles.

The pope, and the princes who had taken up the croſs, had their different views in this grand affair; and Conſtantinople ſtood in dread of them all. The Latins were univerſally hated there, and conſidered as heretics and barbarians.

Thoſe the Greeks feared the moſt, and with reaſon too, were Bohemond and his Neapolitans, as being enemies to the empire. But ſuppoſing the deſigns of Bohemond to have been ever ſo juſt, what right had theſe weſtern princes to come and ſeize for themſelves the provinces which the Turks had taken from the Greek emperors?

We may form ſome idea of the brutal arro-

gance of these lords of the crusade, from the story related by the princess Anna Comnena, of a certain French count, who, at a public ceremony, seated himself by the emperor's side on his throne; and when Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon, took hold of his hand to make him retire, the indiscreet wretch cried aloud in his barbarous jargon, *Voilà un plaisant rustre que ce Grec, de s'asseoir devant des gens comme nous.* "A pretty clown of a Greek this, to sit down before such men as we are!" These words were interpreted to Alexis, who only smiled at them. One or two indiscretions of this kind are sufficient to disgrace a whole nation.

It was morally impossible that such guests should not demand provisions with arrogance, and that the Greeks should not refuse them with contempt. This was the cause of continual skirmishes between the natives and Godfrey's army, which was the first that appeared after the rapacious followers of Peter the Hermit. Godfrey at length went so far as to attack the suburbs of Constantinople, which the emperor defended in person. The bishop of Puy in Auvergne, the pope's legate in the army of the crusade, was absolutely for having them begin their expedition against the infidels, by laying siege to the city that was the residence of the chief of all the christian princes. Bohemond, who was then in Sicily, was of the same opinion, and sent courier after courier, to dissuade Godfrey from coming to an accommodation with the emperor. Hugh, brother to the king of France, had at the same time the imprudence to leave Sicily, where he then was with Bohemond, and to transport himself almost alone into the territories of Alexis.

To this act of indiſcretion, he added that of writing letters full of the moſt inſolent expreſſions, which was very imprudent, as well as unbecoming in a perſon who had not an army at his command. The conſequence of this behaviour was his being ſeized, and detained priſoner for ſome time. At length, however, the emperor, by a prudent policy, diverted all theſe ſtorms. He furniſhed the cruſaders with proviſions, engaged all the principal lords to pay him homage for the lands they ſhould conquer; and after loading them with preſents, tranſported them one after another into Aſia. Bohemond, who was the perſon he dreaded the moſt, he treated the moſt magnificently. When that prince came to do him homage at Conſtantinople, and was viewing the rarities of the palace, Alexis ordered a cabinet to be filled with curioſities in gold and ſilver, of the choiceſt workmanſhip, and with jewels of all kinds, thrown together without order, and that the door of this cabinet ſhould be left open. Bohemond, in paſſing through the apartment, ſaw this treaſure, to which thoſe who conducted him ſeemed not to pay the leaſt attention. "Is it poſſible, cried he in the utmoſt ſurprize, that ſuch glorious things as theſe ſhould be neglected? Were they mine, I ſhould think myſelf the greateſt prince upon earth." The ſame evening the emperor ſent him the cabinet, with all its rich moveables. This tranſaction is related by the emperor's own daughter, who was eye-witneſs to it*. Such was the be-

* We muſt read this account with grains of allowance, conſidering that it was written by the emperor's own daughter, and repreſents the character of her father in a very

haviour of this prince, whom every diſintereſted man will ſtile wiſe and magnificent, but whom the greater part of thoſe who have writ the hiſtory of the cruſades have treated as perfidious, becauſe he would not be the ſlave of a dangerous multitude.

When he had at length got happily rid of them, and they were all paſſed into Aſia Minor, a review was made of the army near Nicea, when it was found to conſiſt of an hundred thouſand horſemen, and ſix hundred thouſand foot, including the women. This number, added to the firſt cruſaders who periſhed under the hermit, and others, makes about one million one hundred thouſand, which may juſtify what is ſaid of the armies of the kings of Perſia, who poured in upon Greece, and alſo what is related of the tranſplantations of ſo many barbarians. The French at length, and particularly Raymond count of Toulouſe, now found themſelves exactly in the ſame country which the ſouthern Gauls had traverſed thirteen hundred years before, when they went to ravage Aſia Minor, and give their name to a province of Galatia.

Hiſtorians rarely give us any account how theſe vaſt multitudes were ſubſiſted, although this was a circumſtance which required as

very different light from that in which it is exhibited by the hiſtorians Zonaras, Glycas, Baronius, Otto Friſingenſis, &c. who paint the emperor Alexis Comnenus as a mean, perfidious, ſordid prince. The Alexiade written by the princeſs Anne, was tranſlated from the Greek into Latin by different hands, and finally publiſhed in French by the preſident Couſin. It is a work of great ingenuity, compared by ſome to the hiſtory of Quintus Curtius.

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much care as the war itſelf. Venice at firſt refuſed to ſupply them, as ſhe carried on a more profitable trade than ever with the Mahometans, and was afraid of loſing the privileges her citizens enjoyed amongſt them. The Genoeſe, the Piſans, and the Greeks fitted out veſſels laden with proviſions, which they ſold to the cruſaders in their march along the ſea-coaſt of Aſia Minor. The Genoeſe became rich by theſe means, and the world was aſtoniſhed to ſee that ſtate become on a ſudden a formidable power.

Old Solyman the Turkiſh ſultan of Syria, who was under the caliphs of Bagdat, what the mayors of the palace were under the race of Clovis, was not able, even with the aſſiſtance of his ſon, to make head againſt the firſt torrent of all theſe princes engaged in the cruſade, their troops being better choſen than thoſe of Peter the Hermit, and diſciplined as well as their licentiouſneſs and enthuſiaſm would permit.

Nicea was taken, and Solyman's army commanded by his ſon, twice beaten. 1097 The Turks and Arabians were unable at firſt to ſtand the ſhock of ſuch multitudes caſed in iron, their great war-horſes, and thoſe foreſts of ſpears to which they had never been accuſtomed.

Bohemond had the art to prevail on the cruſaders to yield him the fruitful country of Antioch. Count Baldwin went as far as Meſopotamia, where he took the city of Edeſſa, and formed a little ſtate. At length the cruſaders laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, of which the caliph of Egypt had taken poſſeſſion by his lieutenants. Moſt hiſtorians tell us that the army

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of the beſiegers was diminiſhed by ſkirmiſhes, ſickneſs, and the garriſons they left in the conquered towns, to twenty thouſand *foot*, and fifteen hundred horſe; and that Jeruſalem was plentifully provided with every thing, and defended by a garriſon of forty thouſand ſoldiers; they take care to add, at the ſame time, that beſides their garriſon, there were twenty thouſand inhabitants determined to defend it to the laſt extremity. But what reader is there in his ſenſes, who muſt not ſee that it is morally impoſſible for an army of twenty thouſand men to beſiege one of ſixty thouſand in a fortified place: but hiſtorians are always fond of the marvellous.

The truth is, that after five weeks ſiege the city was taken by aſſault, and that all thoſe who were not chriſtians were maſſacred. Peter the Hermit, who from being a general had become a chaplain, was preſent at the taking of the city, and at the maſſacre which enſued. Some chriſtians, whom the Muſſulmen had ſuffered to live in the city, led the conquerors into the private caves and hiding places, where the mothers had taken ſhelter with their children, who were all put to the ſword. All hiſtorians agree, that after this butchery, the chriſtians beſmeared and dropping with blood, went in proceſſion to the place where they were told was the ſepulchre
1099 of Chriſt, and there burſt into tears.

It is very probable that they might give ſome ſigns of religion while in that holy place; but a tenderneſs which ſhewed itſelf in tears is hardly to be reconciled with the giddy fierceneſs, debauches, and cruel turn of mind

mind they ſhewed on theſe occaſions. A man may be both furious and tender, but not at the ſame time.

The cruſaders made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem on the fifth of July 1099, at the time that Alexis Comnenus was emperor of the Eaſt, Henry IV. of the Weſt, and while Urban II. the Roman pontiff, was yet living, who died however before he received the news of the ſucceſs of this cruſade, of which he had been the author.

The lords being now maſters of Jeruſalem, immediately aſſembled to chuſe a king of Judea. The eccleſiaſtics who had followed the army were preſent at this aſſembly; and had the inſolence to declare, that ſuch an election would be void and null, becauſe, ſaid they, the election of a patriarch ſhould always precede that of a king.

Notwithſtanding this declaration, Godfrey of Bouillon was choſen not king but duke of Jeruſalem. A few months after, a legate named d'Amberto arrived there, and got himſelf nominated patriarch by the clergy, when the firſt thing that he did was to claim the little kingdom of Jeruſalem for himſelf; and Godfrey, who had conquered the city at the hazard of his life, was obliged to yield it to this biſhop. He however reſerved the port of Joppa, and ſome privileges in Jeruſalem: but his own country which he had quitted was far ſuperior to any thing he had acquired in Paleſtine.

CHAP.

A German preacher called Godescalcus, attempting to play the same game, was still worse treated; for as soon as he arrived with his disciples in that same kingdom of Hungary, where his predecessors had formerly committed so many excesses, the very sight of the red cross which they wore was like a signal, at which the natives fell upon them, and massacred every man.

Another tribe of these adventurers, composed of above two hundred thousand persons, women, priests, scholars, and peasants, imagining that they were going to defend Jesus Christ, thought they ought to exterminate all the Jews they found in their way. There were great numbers of these on the frontiers of France, and they had almost all the trade of the kingdom in their hands. The Christians, thinking they were revenging the cause of God, fell upon these unhappy people, and put them all to the sword. Never had this nation suffered so bloody a massacre since the time of Adrian: they were butchered at Verdun, Spires, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz; and numbers laid violent hands on themselves, after having ripped open the bellies of their wives, to prevent their falling into the hands of their barbarous persecutors. Hungary, however, proved the grave of this third army of crusaders.

In the mean time Peter the Hermit, while he was lying before Constantinople, found a fresh recruit of Italian and German vagabonds, [illegible] joined him, and plundered all the [illegible] the city. The emperor [illegible] who governed at that [illegible] prince of great [illegible] contented [illegible]

poſible, of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, by furniſhing them with veſſels to tranſport them to the other ſide of the Boſphorus. General Peter at length ſaw himſelf at the head of a Chriſtian army, ready to give battle to the Muſſulmans. Soliman, ſultan of Nice, with a body of diſciplined troops, fell upon this ſcattered multitude, and Walter the Moneyleſs, with many of the poor nobility, were ſlain. The hermit, however, made his way back to Conſtantinople, where he was looked upon as a fanatic, who had enliſted a multitude of madmen to follow him.

This however was not the caſe with reſpect to the other chiefs of the cruſades, ſome of whom were more politic, had leſs enthuſiaſm, and were more accuſtomed to command; beſides, they had troops that were a little better diſciplined. Godfrey of Bouillon was at the head of ſeventy thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, armed cap-a-pee, under the banners of a great number of lords, who all ranged themſelves under his ſtandard.

In the mean time Hugh, brother to Philip I. king of France, marched through Italy, accompanied by ſeveral other lords, who had joined him, and went in ſearch of adventures; almoſt the whole of his fortune conſiſting in the title [illegible] to a king, who himſelf was not very [illegible] appears ſtill more ſtrange [illegible] of Normandy, eldeſt ſon [illegible] queror of England, left his [illegible] he was firmly eſtabliſhed, [illegible] given up to England by his [illegible] William Rufus, mortgaged [illegible] ſwallow up the expence

Of the million of ſouls which had entered into this cruſade, very few were now remaining. The fame of their ſucceſſes had drawn a ſwarm of new adventurers out of the Weſt. Prince Hugh, brother to Philip I. brought a freſh multitude, which was continually encreaſing by Italians and Germans, who joined them on their way; theſe have been computed at three hundred thouſand; but if we reduce this number to two thirds, there will ſtill remain two hundred thouſand men loſt to Chriſtendom: for theſe, when near Conſtantinople, were treated in much the ſame manner as the followers of Peter the Hermit had been; while thoſe who landed in Aſia were cut to pieces by the troops of ſultan Solyman; and prince Hugh died almoſt deſerted in Aſia Minor.

But what further proves, in my opinion, the extreme weakneſs of Jeruſalem, is the eſtabliſhment of thoſe religious bodies of ſoldiery, the Templars and Hoſpitallers: for undoubtedly theſe monks, who were originally inſtituted to attend upon the ſick, did not think themſelves in ſafety, ſince they took up arms. Beſides, when the community is well governed, private aſſociations are ſeldom made.

The religious, conſecrated to the ſervice of the wounded, having made a vow to take up arms in the year 1118, there was ſuddenly formed a militia of the ſame ſort, under the name of Templars, who took this title on account of their living near to that church which, it was ſaid, had been formerly the temple of Solomon. Theſe eſtabliſhments owe their foundation entirely to the French, or at leaſt to the inhabitants of a country ſince annexed to France.

Ray-

Raymond Dupuy, firſt grand-maſter and founder of the militia of Hoſpitallers, was born in Dauphiny.

No ſooner were theſe two orders eſtabliſhed by the pope's bulls, than they became rich, and rivals, and fought as often againſt each other as againſt the Muſſulmans. Soon after this order, a new one was eſtabliſhed in favour of the poor Chriſtians who had been abandoned in Paleſtine; this was the order of the Teutonic monks, who afterwards in Europe became a militia of conquerors.

In ſhort, the ſituation of the Chriſtians was ſo precarious, that Baldwin, the firſt king of Jeruſalem, who reigned after the death of his brother Godfrey, was taken priſoner almoſt at the very gates of the city by a Turkiſh prince.

The Chriſtians began now to grow more and more weak every day in thoſe countries which they had conquered. The firſt conquerors were no more, and their ſucceſſors were ſunk in effeminacy. The little kingdom of Edeſſa had already been taken by the Turks in 1140, and Jeruſalem itſelf was threatened. The emperors finding their neighbours the princes of Antioch, were only new uſurpers, made war upon them, and not without reaſon: upon which, the Chriſtians of Aſia, ready to be overpowered on every ſide, ſolicited Europe for a new cruſade.

The French had begun the firſt inundation, therefore they were applied to, in order to make a ſecond. Pope Eugenius III. the diſciple of St. Bernard, the founder of Clervaux, very wiſely pitched upon his firſt maſter to be the inſtrument of a new depopulation. Never did gown-

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man better reconcile the hurry of buſineſs with the auſterity of his profeſſion, nor had any one ever attained to ſo high a degree of perſonal reſpect, which is always above authority itſelf. His fellow ſtudent, the abbot Suger, was prime miniſter of France, his diſciple was pope; but Bernard, though no more than abbot of Clervaux, was the oracle not only of France, but alſo of Europe.

1146 At Vezelai in Burgundy, a ſcaffold was erected in the public market-place, on which Bernard appeared by the ſide of Lewis the Young, king of France. He ſpoke firſt, the king ſeconded him, and was the firſt who took the croſs from the hands of St. Bernard, and his example was followed by all preſent. Suger, the prime miniſter, would fain have diſſuaded the king from abandoning the certain advantages he might make in his own dominions, to go to Hungary in ſearch of precarious conqueſts; but the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the prevailing ſpirit of the times, without which that eloquence would have been nothing, carried it againſt the prudent advice of the miniſter.

We have had Lewis the Young repreſented as a prince rather ſcrupulous than virtuous. In one of thoſe civil wars which the feudal government in France rendered unavoidable, the king's troops had burnt the church of Vitry, and the people who had taken refuge there all periſhed in the flames. They eaſily found means to perſuade the king, that he had no other way of expiating this guilt, but by a journey to Paleſtine; whereas he might have made a much more ſuitable reparation by ſtaying at home, and

governing his kingdom in a wiſe and prudent manner. His young wife, Eleanor of Guienne, engaged to accompany him in this cruſade, either becauſe ſhe then loved him, or becauſe the cuſtoms of thoſe times made it a point of decency to follow her huſband to thoſe kind of wars.

St. Bernard had acquired ſo extraordinary a reputation in this affair, that in a new aſſembly held at Chartres, he was choſen chief of the cruſade. This may appear an almoſt incredible fact; but every thing is to be believed of the religious frenzy of the populace. St. Bernard had too much underſtanding to expoſe himſelf to the ridicule which would have attended a ſtep of this kind. The example of Peter the Hermit was recent in the minds of every one: he therefore wiſely refuſed the office of general, and contented himſelf with that of prophet.

From France he went to Germany, where he met with another monk who was preaching up the cruſade; but he ſoon ſilenced this rival, who had not the pope's miſſion; and at length he gave the red croſs to the emperor Conrad III. and made him a public promiſe, in the name of God, of victory over the Infidels. Soon after this, one of his diſciples, named Philip, wrote over to France, that Bernard had performed a great number of miracles ſince he had been in Germany: it was not indeed pretended that he raiſed the dead to life; but the blind received ſight, the lame walked, and the ſick were healed. We may reckon among theſe prodigies, that he always preached to the Germans in French.

The hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greateſt part of the knights in their dominions; and it is ſaid, that in each army there were reckoned ſeventy thouſand men, in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horſe, excluſive of the infantry: ſo that we cannot well reduce this ſecond emigration to leſs than three hundred thouſand perſons, who, joined to one million three hundred thouſand ſent before, makes in the whole one million ſix hundred thouſand tranſplanted inhabitants. The Germans were the firſt who took the field, the French followed them. It is natural, that of ſo great a multitude numbers muſt have been carried off by ſickneſs, upon going into a different climate. Intemperance, however, produced a mortality in Conrad's army, near the plains of Conſtantinople, which occaſioned the report that was ſpread through the Weſt, of the Greeks having poiſoned the wells and fountains. The ſame exceſſes that had been committed by the former cruſaders, were acted over again by theſe; which gave Manuel Comnenus the ſame apprehenſions as they had done to his grand-father Alexis.

Conrad, after he had paſſed the Boſphorus, acted with that imprudence which is always annexed to ſuch kind of expeditions. The principality of Antioch was yet in being, and the emperor might have joined thoſe Chriſtians which were in Syria, and have waited for the king of France, then their numbers would have enſured them ſucceſs; but inſtead of this, the emperor being jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marches on into

into the midſt of Aſia Minor, where the ſultan of Iconium, who was a more able general than himſelf, drew his heavy German cavalry amongſt the rocks; where, fatigued, diſpirited, and incapable of acting on ſuch ground, they fell an eaſy prey to the Turks, who had no other trouble than that of killing them. The emperor being wounded, and left with only a few flying ſquadrons about him, fled to Antioch, from whence he went to Jeruſalem as a pilgrim, inſtead of appearing there as the leader of an army. The famous Frederic Barbaroſſa, his nephew, and ſucceſſor in the German empire, attended him in all theſe journeys, and learned among the Turks to exerciſe that courage, which the popes afterwards to put to the ſevereſt trial.

Lewis the Young met with the ſame ſucceſs in his enterprize. It muſt be acknowledged that his followers were not more prudent than the Germans, and had far leſs juſtice on their ſide. As ſoon as he arrived in Thrace, a biſhop of Langres offered to make him maſter of Conſtantinople; but the diſgrace that would have attended ſuch an action was too apparent, and the ſucceſs too doubtful. The French army therefore croſſed the Helleſpont, and purſued the ſame route as the emperor Conrad had done.

Every one, I imagine, muſt have obſerved that theſe powerful Chriſtian armies carried on a war in the ſame country where Alexander the Great was always victorious, with much fewer troops, over an enemy far more powerful than the Turks and Arabs were at that time. There muſt then certainly have been ſome fundamental defect in the military diſcipline of

these princes that rendered their courage useless; and this defect probably was the spirit of independence, which the feudal government had introduced into Europe. Thus chiefs without either art or experience, took upon them to conduct a disorderly multitude through unknown countries. The king of France fell into the same snare as the emperor; and being surprised with his army among the rocks near Laodicea, was there beaten as he had been: but Lewis, at his return to Antioch, met with some domestic misfortunes, which affected him much more sensibly than the public calamities. Raymond, prince of Antioch, at whose court he had taken refuge, with his wife Eleanor, was suspected of entertaining a passion for that princess. It is even said that she forgot all the fatigues of her late painful journey, in the arms of a young Turk of surprising beauty, named Saladin. The conclusion of the whole enterprize was, that the emperor Conrad returned almost alone to Germany, and Lewis carried back with him to France only his wife and a few of his courtiers. At his return he annulled his marriage with Eleanor of Guienne, and thus lost that fine French province, after having lost in Asia the most flourishing army that his country had ever set on foot. A thousand ruined families in vain cried out against St. Bernard for his prophecies: he excused himself upon the example of Moses, with whom he compared himself; and who, like him, he said, had promised the Israelites, in God's name, to conduct them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the deserts.

After these unfortunate expeditions, the Christians

ſtians in Aſia became more divided amongſt themſelves than ever. The ſame madneſs raged amongſt the Muſſulmans. The pretence of religion had no longer any ſhare in political affairs; on the contrary, about the year 1166, Aumaury king of Jeruſalem, entered into an alliance with the ſultan of Egypt againſt the Turks; but the king of Jeruſalem had hardly ſigned the treaty when he broke it.

In the midſt of all theſe diſorders aroſe the great Saladin: he was of Perſian extraction, and born in the ſmall country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike, and always free. He was one of thoſe captains who made themſelves maſters of the caliphs territories, and was excelled in valour by no one. In a ſhort time he conquered Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Perſia, and Meſopotamia; and finding himſelf maſter of ſuch a large extent of country, ſoon formed the deſign of conquering the kingdom of Jeruſalem. This little ſtate was rent by violent factions, and was every day haſtening to its ruin.

Guy of Luſignan, who had received the crown, but a crown which was diſputed him, aſſembled together in Galilee all the divided Chriſtians whom the proſpect of approaching danger now united, and marched againſt Saladin; the biſhop of Ptolemais wearing a cope over his armour, marched at the head of the troops, holding in his arms a croſs which he endeavoured to perſuade the ſoldiers was the very ſame on which the Saviour of mankind ſuffered death *. Nevertheleſs, the Chri-

* They muſt have been very eaſy of belief, to be perſuaded that Jeſus Chriſt could be crucified on a croſs which the biſhop of Ptolemais carried in his arms.

ſtians were all either killed or made priſoners. The captive monarch, who expected nothing but death, was aſtoniſhed to find himſelf treated by Saladin in the ſame manner as priſoners of war are now-a-days treated by the moſt humane generals.

Saladin with his own hands preſented Luſignan with a cup of liquor cooled with ſnow: the king, after having drank, was going to give the cup to one of his captains, named Renaud de Chatillon. It was an inviolable cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the Muſſulmen, and which is ſtill kept up among ſome of the Arabian nations, never to put thoſe priſoners to death to whom they had given meat or drink. This antient law of hoſpitality was regarded as ſacred by Saladin; therefore he would not ſuffer Renaud to drink after the king: that captain had ſeveral times broken his promiſe, the conqueror had vowed to puniſh him; and to ſhew that he knew how to puniſh as well as to ſhew mercy, he ſtruck off the head of the perfidious wretch with a blow of his ſabre. Being come before the gates of Jeruſalem, which was in no ſtate of defence, he granted the queen, Luſignan's wife, a capitulation ſhe could not hope to obtain †; with

1187

† We are told by D'Herbelot, who tranſlated the Arabian hiſtorian Ibenſchuhnah, that Saladin had been repulſed in ſeveral attacks, by the Chriſtians of Jeruſalem; that he refuſed to grant them a capitulation, declaring he would take the place by ſtorm, as it had been reduced by the chriſtians; that the garriſon being thus driven to deſpair, fought with ſuch obſtinacy, as obliged him to change his reſolution, and grant terms which were abundantly ſevere: for he ſtipulated that every man ſhould pay ten golden crowns for

with permiſſion to retire whither ſhe pleaſed: nor would he take any ranſom for the Greeks who lived in the city. When he made his entry into Jeruſalem, ſeveral women came and threw themſelves at his feet, ſome aſking for their huſbands, others for their children or fathers, who were his priſoners, whom he ordered to be reſtored to them with a generoſity of which that part of the world had not furniſhed one example. Saladin cauſed the moſque, which had been converted into a church, to be waſhed all over with roſe-water by the Chriſtians, and placed in it a magnificent chair, on which his uncle Noradin, ſultan of Aleppo, had worked with his own hands; and alſo cauſed to be engraven over the door theſe words, "Saladin the king, the ſervant of God, ſet up this inſcription after God had taken Jeruſalem by his hands."

He eſtabliſhed Mahometan ſchools; but notwithſtanding his attachment to his religion, he reſtored the Holy Sepulchre to the Oriental Chriſtians. We muſt likewiſe add, that within the ſpace of a year he reſtored Guy of Luſignan his liberty, firſt making him ſwear that he would never again carry arms againſt his deliverer. This oath, however, Luſignan afterwards broke.

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for his ranſom, every women five, and every child two: and that all thoſe who could not pay ſhould become the ſlaves of the ſultan. As for his leaving to the Chriſtians the cuſtody of the holy ſepulchre, this was the effect of his policy, to raiſe money by the pilgrims; as he knew very well, that no pilgrims would go thither, had the ſepulchre been under the direction of the Mahometans.

While Aſia Minor had thus been made the theatre of the zeal, glory, crimes, and misfortunes of ſo many thouſands of the cruſaders, the rage of propagating religion ſword in hand, made its way even to the extremity of the North.

We have a little before ſeen Charlemagne converting the north of Germany with fire and ſword*. We have afterwards beheld the idolatrous Danes making Europe tremble, and conquering Normandy, without ever attempting to force their religion upon the people they had conquered †; but ſcarcely was the Chriſtian religion ſettled in Denmark, Saxony, and Scandinavia, when a cruſade was preached up againſt the pagans of the North, whom they called Sclaves, or Slaves; whence the country which borders upon Hungary is called Sclavonia. The Chriſtians took up arms againſt them from Bremen to the extremities of Scandinavia, and upwards of one hundred thouſand cruſaders marched to carry deſtruction among theſe idolaters, of whom they killed vaſt numbers without making a ſingle convert. We may add the loſs of theſe hundred thouſand men to the ſixteen hundred thouſand which the mad fanaticiſm of thoſe times had coſt Europe.

While theſe things were tranſacting in the North, the Aſiatic Chriſtians had loſt all they poſſeſſed there, except Antioch, Tripoli, Joppa, and the city of Tyre; Saladin being maſter of all the reſt, either by himſelf, or by his ſon-in-law, the ſultan of Iconium, or Cogni.

All Europe was alarmed at the rumour of

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* *See* vol. I. chap. viii. † Vol. I. chap xv.

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Saladin's victories. Pope Clement III. ſtirred up France, England, and Germany. Philip Auguſtus, who at that time ſat 1188
on the throne of France, and old Henry II. who was king of England, ſuſpended their private differences, and placed all their emulation in marching to the relief of the Chriſtians in Aſia. They both cauſed proclamation to be made throughout their dominions, that ſuch of their ſubjects as would not take up the croſs, ſhould pay the value of the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects, towards defraying the expence of the armament. This was called the Saladin tythe, a tax which ſerved as an additional trophy to the conqueror.

The emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa, ſo famous for the perſecutions he ſuffered from the popes, and which he made them ſuffer in their turn, took up the croſs much about this time. He ſeemed to be among the Chriſtians of Aſia what Saladin was among the Turks, an able politician, a good ſoldier, tried by fortune, and at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men. He at firſt took the precaution to order, that no one ſhould take the croſs, who was not worth at leaſt one hundred and fifty franks, current money; to the end that every one might, by his own means, prevent the dreadful dearth which had ſo greatly contributed to ruin the preceding armies.

Frederick was obliged to turn his arms firſt againſt the Greeks. The court of Conſtantinople, wearied with being continually threatened by the Latins, entered into an alliance with Saladin.

Saladin. This alliance diſguſted all the Chriſtian powers of Europe; but it was evident that there was no avoiding it. We are not naturally fond of having connections or alliance with a known enemy without an urgent neceſſity. Our alliance at preſent with the Turks, though much leſs neceſſary, perhaps, does not occaſion any murmuring. Frederick opened himſelf a paſſage through Thrace ſword in hand, againſt the emperor Iſaac Angelus, and having conquered the Greeks, he afterwards gained two victories over the ſultan of Cogni; but bathing himſelf in a river (ſome ſay the Cydnus) when in a profuſe ſweat, he loſt his life, and his conqueſts thereby became of no advantage. They had certainly coſt him very dear, ſince his ſon the duke of Suabia could gather together no more than ſeven or eight thouſand men, out of one hundred and fifty thouſand that had followed his father: theſe he conducted to Antioch, and incorporated them with the remains of the army of Guy of Luſignan, who was determined again to attack his conqueror and deliverer, Saladin, in defiance of the oath he had taken, and the great inequality of their forces.

After ſeveral battles, none of which were deciſive, the ſon of Frederick Barbaroſſa, who might have been emperor of the Weſt, was killed near Ptolemais. Thoſe writers who tell us that he died a martyr to his chaſtity, and might have ſurvived, could he have prevailed on himſelf to make uſe of women, ſhew themſelves bold panegyriſts, but very indifferent naturaliſts. The ſame thing has been ſince ſaid of Lewis VIII. king of France.

Aſia

Aſia Minor was a gulph into which Europe ſeemed haſtening to plunge itſelf. Not only Frederick's immenſe army was loſt, but the fleets of England, France, Italy, and Germany, that arrived before Philip Auguſtus and Richard Cœur-de-Lion had brought freſh cruſaders, and conſequently freſh victims.

The kings of France and England at length arrived in Syria before Ptolemais: almoſt all the eaſtern Chriſtians were aſſembled to carry on the ſiege of this city. Saladin was employed on the borders of the Euphrates with a civil war. When the two kings had joined their forces to thoſe of the eaſtern Chriſtians, the whole was computed to amount to above three hundred thouſand men.

Ptolemais indeed was taken; but the jealouſy and diſcord which naturally aroſe between two ſuch rivals in power and intereſt as Philip and Richard, produced more miſchievous effects than theſe three hundred thouſand performed ſucceſsful exploits. Philip, grown weary of theſe animoſities, and ſtill more of the ſuperiority which Richard aſſumed on all occaſions, though his vaſſal, returned in diſguſt to France, which perhaps he ought never to have left; but to which likewiſe he ſhould never have returned, unleſs with more credit. 1190

Richard, now left maſter of the field of honour, but not of that multitude of cruſaders, more divided amongſt themſelves than the two kings had been, in vain gave proofs of the moſt heroic valour. Saladin, who was returning victorious from Meſopotamia, gave battle to the cruſaders near Ceſarea, when Richard had the honour of diſarming that great warrior,

which

which was almoſt the only advantage he gained by this memorable expedition.

Fatigues, ſickneſs, ſkirmiſhes, and continual quarrels, ruined this great army, and
1191 Richard returned home with more glory indeed than Philip Auguſtus, but in a manner much leſs prudent. He ſet ſail with a ſingle ſhip, and that being caſt away on the coaſt of Venice, he was obliged to croſs Germany in diſguiſe, and very badly attended. When in Syria, he had, by his haughty behaviour, given great offence to a duke of Auſtria, and now he had the imprudence to paſs through his territories. The duke ordered
1193 him to be ſeized, loaded him with chains, and delivered him up to that cruel and daſtardly prince, the emperor Henry VI. who kept him confined as if he had been an enemy taken in war, and it is ſaid demanded an hundred marks of ſilver for his ranſom.

Saladin, who had entered into a treaty with Richard, by which he left to the Chriſtians all the ſea-coaſt from Tyre to Joppa, and who during his life-time adhered faithfully
1195 to his engagements, died three years after at Damaſcus, admired even by the Chriſtians. In his laſt illneſs, inſtead of the ſtandard which uſed to be diſplayed before the door of his palace, he ordered the ſheet to be hung up in which he was to be buried; and the perſon who carried this enſign of mortality, cried with a loud voice, "Behold all that Saladin, conqueror of the Eaſt, has gained by his victories." They ſay that by his laſt will he left a ſum to be equally diſtributed between the poor Mahometans, Jews, and Chriſtians;

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intending by this diſpoſition to inculcate that all men are brethren; and that, when we would aſſiſt them, we are not to enquire what they believe, but what they ſuffer.

The ardor for cruſades ſtill continued as warm as ever, and the wars which were carried on by Philip Auguſtus againſt England and Germany, did not prevent a great number of the French lords from engaging in theſe chimerical expeditions. Baldwin count of Flanders was the principal promoter of this emigration, as Godfrey of Bouillon had been of the firſt. This new cruſade, which we may call the fifth, was compoſed of four thouſand knights, nine thouſand eſquires, and twenty-five thouſand infantry.

The republic of Venice, which ſupported its commerce by war, became every day more and more formidable; and it was thought of more conſequence to ſecure her aſſiſtance, than that of all the crowned heads of Europe, as ſhe was able to fit out larger fleets than the kings of England, Germany, and France. Theſe induſtrious republicans gained both wealth and additional territories by this cruſade: for, in the firſt place, they were paid eighty-five thouſand marks of ſilver merely for the paſſage of the troops; and then they made uſe of this very armament, to which they added fifty galleys, to make conqueſts in Dalmatia. 1202

Pope Innocent III. whether out of matter of form, or becauſe he already feared their riſing grandeur, excommunicated theſe people; but they nevertheleſs took Zara and its territories, which ſtill added to the ſtrength of their republic.

This

This crusade set out under very different circumstances to all others, inasmuch as it found Constantinople divided; whereas the former ones had to do with emperors well settled on the throne. The Venetians, together with the count of Flanders, the marquis of Montferrat, and, in fine, all the principal commanders, who are generally good politicians, however mad and giddy the multitude may be, thought that the time was come for putting in execution a long formed project against the Greek empire.

Isaac Angelus had been deprived of his liberty and right by his brother Alexis: the son of this Isaac was at the head of a party, and the crusaders offered him their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries could not but be equally hateful to both parties. However, they arrived before Constantinople, and pitched their camp without that city, which was a perpetual prey to tumults and disorders. Young Alexis, who was detested by the Greeks, for having introduced the Latins, soon became the victim of a new faction; and one of his relations, surnamed Mirziflos, strangled him with his own hands.

The crusaders, who had then the pretence of revenging the death of their creature, took advantage of the seditions that desolated the city, to plunder it. They entered it with little or no resistance; and having put every one they met to the sword, gave themselves up without restraint to all the excess of avarice and fury. Nicetas affirms, that the booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thousand marks of silver. The very churches

1204

churches were pillaged; and what ſtrongly marks the character of the nation, which has been at all times the ſame, is, that the French danced with the ladies in the ſanctuary of the church of St. Sophia.

This was the firſt time that the city of Conſtantinople had been taken and ſacked; and this was the act of Chriſtians, who had made a vow to fight only againſt Infidels.

We do not find that on this occaſion the wild-fire, ſo much boaſted of by hiſtorians, had the leaſt effect. Had it been what they repreſented it, it muſt always have given certain victory both by ſea and land. If it was ſomething reſembling our phoſphorus, it might indeed be preſerved in water, but then it would have had no effect in that element. In ſhort, notwithſtanding this ſecret, the Turks had taken almoſt all Aſia Minor from the Greeks, and the Latins ſtript them of the reſt.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, the moſt powerful of all the cruſaders, got himſelf elected emperor, and this new emperor condemned the other uſurper Mirziſlos to be thrown headlong from the top of a high column. The other chiefs divided the empire between them. The Venetians took for their ſhare Peloponneſus, the iſland of Candia, and ſeveral cities on the coaſt of Phrygia, which had not ſubmitted to the Turkiſh yoke. The marquis of Montferrat took Theſſaly. Thus Baldwin had little left except Thrace and Mœſia. As to the pope, he gained, at leaſt for a time, the whole eaſtern church. This conqueſt might in time have been worth a kingdom; for Conſtantinople was of far greater conſequence than Jeruſalem.

These cruſaders, who thus ruined the Chriſtians their brethren, might much more eaſily than any of their predeceſſors, have driven the Turks out of Aſia, as the demeſnes of Saladin were rent in pieces; but of ſuch a number of knights who had made a vow to go and ſuccour Jeruſalem, a very inconſiderable number went into Syria, and thoſe only ſuch as were unable to get any ſhare in the ſpoils of the Greeks. One of theſe was Simon of Montfort, who having in vain attempted to gain dominions in Greece and Syria, put himſelf, at length, at the head of a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, in hopes of finding an opportunity, under the ſanction of the croſs he bore, to uſurp ſomething from the Chriſtians.

There ſtill remained a number of princes of the imperial houſe of Comnenus, who did not loſe their courage with the deſtruction of their empire. One of theſe, who alſo bore the name of Alexis, took refuge with a few veſſels on the coaſt of Colchis, and there between the ſea and mount Caucaſus, erected a petty ſtate, which he called the empire of Trebiſond; ſo much was the word empire abuſed.

Theodore Laſcarus, who retook Nice, ſettled himſelf in Bithynia, by opportunely making uſe of the Arabians againſt the Turks. He alſo aſſumed the title of emperor, and cauſed a patriarch to be elected in his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance even with the Turks, and called in the antient enemies of the Bulgarians to their aſſiſtance againſt the emperor Baldwin, the late count of Flan-

1205 ders, who had yet ſcarcely enjoyed his conqueſt; and having overcome

him

him near Adrianopole, they cut off his legs and arms, and left him a prey to wild beaſts.

It has by ſome been thought aſtoniſhing that the ſources of theſe emigrations were not dried up; but, in my opinion, the contrary would have been aſtoniſhing. The minds of mankind were ſet in agitation; penitents were ordered by their confeſſors to go to the Holy Land; and the falſe reports which were every day brought from that place, excited new hopes and expectations.

A monk of Brittany, named Eſtoin, about the year 1204, conducted a multitude of his countrymen into Syria. The widow of a king of Hungary took the croſs, with many others of her ſex, thinking there was no other way of gaining heaven, but by making this voyage. This epidemic folly communicated itſelf even to the children; ſeveral thouſands of whom, conducted by the ſchoolmaſters and monks, quitted their parents houſes on the faith of theſe words; "Out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings, O Lord, thou haſt ordained ſtrength." Of theſe infatuated little wretches, one half were ſold, by their leaders, to the Muſſulmans, and the reſt periſhed miſerably.

Antioch was the moſt conſiderable ſtate the Chriſtians retained in Syria, and the kingdom of Jeruſalem was reduced to the ſingle city of Ptolemais. Nevertheleſs, it was determined in the Weſt, that Jeruſalem ought to have a king, and Emery of Luſignan, the titulary king, dying in the year 1205, it was propoſed by the biſhop of Ptolemais, that they ſhould ſend to France to demand a king for Judea. Philip Auguſtus therefore nominated a younger ſon of the

the houſe of Brienne, in the province of Champagne, who was hardly poſſeſſed of any eſtate. The choice of ſuch a king ſufficiently ſhews what kind of a kingdom this was.

This titulary king, together with his knights, ſome people of Brittany who had paſſed the ſea, ſeveral German princes, a duke of Auſtria, a king of Hungary, named Andrew, who brought with him ſeveral fine troops, the knights Templars and Hoſpitallers, and the biſhops of Munſter and Utrecht, might altogether have formed an army of conquerors, had they had a head to lead them on; but this they wanted.

The king of Hungary having withdrawn himſelf from the league, a count of Holland undertook what ſo many kings and princes had been unable to execute. The Aſiatic Chriſtians ſeemed now at the eve of their deliverance, and their hopes were heightened by the arrival of a great multitude of knights, brought by a legate from the pope, and accompanied by an archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, the biſhops of Paris, Angers, Autun, and Beauvais, and a conſiderable body of troops; beſides theſe, there came four thouſand Engliſh and as many Italians, under ſeveral leaders. At length John de Brienne, who had arrived at Ptolemais almoſt without a man, ſaw himſelf at the head of near an hundred thouſand combatants.

Saphadin, brother to the famous Saladin, who had lately joined Egypt to his other dominions, came to demoliſh the remains of the walls of Jeruſalem, which was now no better than a ruined village: but as Saphadin ſeemed but precariouſly ſettled in Egypt, the cruſaders flattered themſelves that they might eaſily get poſſeſſion of that country.

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The paſſage from Ptolemais to the mouth of the Nile is very ſhort, and the veſſels which had brought over this vaſt multitude of Chriſtians, tranſported them in three days to the antient Peluſium.

Near the ruins of Peluſium ſtands the city of Damietta, built on a cauſeway which defends it from the inundations of the Nile. The crusaders began the ſiege of this place during the laſt illneſs of Saphadin, and continued it after his death. Meledin, his eldeſt ſon, then reigned in Egypt, and paſſed for a prince who was fonder of the laws, the ſciences, and a life of tranquility, than of war. Corradin, ſultan of Damaſcus, to whoſe ſhare Syria had fallen, came to his aſſiſtance againſt the Chriſtians. The ſame of this ſiege, which laſted two years, ſpread through Europe, Aſia, and Africa. 1218

St. Francis d' Aſſiſe, who was then upon eſtabliſhing his order, went in perſon to the camp of the beſiegers; and thinking that he ſhould find no great difficulty in converting the ſultan Meledin, went boldly on with his companion, father Illuminatus, to the Egyptian camp, where they were ſeized and conducted to the ſultan. Francis preached to him in Italian, and propoſed that a large fire ſhould be kindled, into which the Imams on the one hand, and himſelf and Illuminatus on the other, ſhould caſt themſelves, to prove which was the true religion. Meledin replied with a ſmile, that his prieſts were not perſons to leap into a fire in defence of their faith. Upon this Francis offered to throw himſelf into it alone; but Meledin told him that by accepting ſuch an offer he

he might appear to doubt the truth of his own religion. At length he diſmiſſed Francis with marks of his bounty, being perfectly well convinced that he was no dangerous ſpy.

Damietta, however, was taken, and this ſeemed to open a way for the conqueſt of Egypt; but Pelagus Albano, a Spaniſh Benedictine, who was a cardinal and the pope's
1220 legate, was the cauſe of its being loſt. This legate pretended, that the pope, being the head of all the cruſaders, he who repreſented him, had an inconteſtible right to be general; and that as the king of Jeruſalem was king only in virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to his legate. Much time was expended in theſe diſputes, and in writing to Rome; at length the pope's anſwer came, by which he ordered the king of Jeruſalem to return to the camp, and ſerve under the Benedictine, which he accordingly did. This general brought the army between two branches of the Nile, juſt at the time when that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The ſultan being informed of his ſituation, by opening the ſluices overflowed the Chriſtian camp; and while he burnt their ſhips, on the
1221 one ſide, on the other the Nile encreaſing, threatened every day to ſwallow up the whole army. The legate now found himſelf and his troops in the ſame ſituation in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are deſcribed, when they beheld the ſea ready to flow in upon them.

All the writers of thoſe times agree, that in this extremity they entered into a treaty with

the ſultan, who obliged them to reſtore Damietta, and ſent back the army into Phœnicia, after having made them ſwear not to enter into war againſt him for eight years, and kept their king, John de Brienne, as a hoſtage for their obſervance of the treaty.

The Chriſtians had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederick II. and John de Brienne, after he was ſet at liberty, gave him his daughter in marriage, and his right to the kingdom of Jeruſalem as her dowry.

The emperor was perfectly ſenſible of the little advantage to be gained by cruſades; but it was neceſſary for him to manage the minds of the people, and ward againſt any attacks on the ſide of the popes. In my opinion, the conduct he obſerved on this occaſion is a perfect model of ſound politics. He entered into a ſeparate treaty at the ſame time with the pope, and with ſultan Melcdin; and that with this latter being ſigned, he ſet out for Paleſtine, but with a retinue rather than an army. No ſooner was he arrived there than he made public the treaty by which Jeruſalem, Nazareth, and ſome other towns in Judea were ceded to him. He then cauſed it to be publiſhed throughout Europe, that he had recovered the holy places without ſhedding a drop of blood; but notwithſtanding this he did not eſcape uncenſured, for having by this treaty left the great moſque in Jeruſalem; and the patriarch of that city treated him as an atheiſt; but every where elſe he was looked upon as a prince who knew perfectly well how to reign.

In reading the hiſtory of theſe times we cannot but acknowledge, that the writers of Ro-

mance have hardly been able, with all the ſtretch of imagination, to exceed what truth has here furniſhed: nor are we ſurpriſed in this age of extraordinary events, to ſee a count of Flanders, who had made a vow to go to the holy land, ſeizing on the empire of Conſtantinople in his way; nor John de Brienne, a younger ſon of a family in Champagne, become king of Jeruſalem, and afterwards on the point of conquering the kingdom of Egypt: and this ſame John, after being ſtripped of all his dominions, marching almoſt alone to the aſſiſtance of Conſtantinople, where he arrives during
1224 an inter-regnum, and is elected emperor. His ſucceſſor Baldwin II. the laſt Latin emperor of Conſtantinople, being continually harraſſed by the Greeks, runs in vain from court to court with the pope's bull in his hand, imploring aſſiſtance of all the princes of Europe. All the princes of Europe were at that time from home; the emperors of the Weſt were gone to the Holy Land, the popes were almoſt always in France, and the kings ready to ſet out for Paleſtine.

Theobald of Champagne, king of Navarre, who was ſo famous for his love to the
1240 queen, mother to St. Lewis, and the ſongs he compoſed on that occaſion, was one of thoſe alſo who embarked for Paleſtine: he returned indeed the ſame year, and happy it was for him; for ſeventy French knights who went to ſignalize themſelves with him, were all taken priſoners and carried to Grand Cairo, where Meleceſala, nephew to Meledin, who inherited the dominions and virtues of his uncle, treated them with the greateſt hu-

humanity, and at length ſuffered them to return to their own country, on paying a moderate ranſom.

At this time the territory of Jeruſalem belonged neither to the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Chriſtians, nor the Muſſulmen. An unexampled revolution had given a new face to the greater part of Aſia. Gengis-can and his Tartars† had broke looſe from Mount Caucaſus, Tauris, and Immaus; and the people, who fled before them like ſavage beaſts chaſed from their haunts by animals more cruel and powerful than themſelves, over-ran in their turn the countries whoſe inhabitants abandoned them at their approach.

The inhabitants of Chorazan, who were called Choraſmins, being puſhed 1244
by theſe Tartars, threw themſelves upon Syria in the ſame manner as the Goths in the fourth century fell upon the Roman empire. Theſe Choraſmins being idolaters, put all the Turks, Chriſtians, and Jews, that were left in Jeruſalem to the ſword. The Chriſtians who remained in Antioch, Tyre, and Sydon, and on the coaſt of Syria, ſuſpended for a while their mutual quarrels, and united to repel theſe new invaders. Theſe Chriſtians were then in alliance with the ſultan of Damaſcus: and the templars, the knights of St. John, and the Teutonic knights, were always ready armed to lend their aſſiſtance to the general cauſe. Europe was continually furniſhing freſh volunteers. In ſhort, with the forces they could get together, they gave battle to the Choraſ-

† See Chap. xlviii.

mins, when the Chriſtian party was entirely defeated: but this was not the end of their misfortunes. A freſh body of Turks fell upon and ravaged Syria, after the Choraſmins had abandoned it, and exterminated almoſt all the knights that were left. But notwithſtanding theſe ſudden torrents, Chriſtians were ſtill left in poſſeſſion of the cities on the coaſt.

The Latins, ſhut up in their maritime towns, ſaw themſelves now deprived of all aſſiſtance, and their mutual diſſenſions added to their other misfortunes. The princes of Antioch were wholly taken up with making war upon a colony of Chriſtians in Armenia. The different factions of the Venetians, Genoeſe, and Piſans, were diſputing with each other the poſſeſſion of Ptolemais. The templars and knights of St. John were continually embroiled; and Europe, now grown cool, ſent forth ſcarce any of theſe armed pilgrims, ſo that the hopes of the eaſtern Chriſtians were almoſt wholly extinguiſhed, when St. Lewis undertook the laſt cruſade.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of ST. LEWIS and the laſt CRUSADE.

LEWIS IX. ſeemed a prince deſtined to reform Europe, had it been capable of being reformed, to render France triumphant and civilized, and to be in every reſpect a model for the reſt of mankind. His piety, which was that of an anchorite, did not deprive him of any

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of the virtues of a king; nor did his liberality break in upon the bounds of a prudent œconomy. He knew how to reconcile the profoundeſt politics with the ſtricteſt juſtice, and perhaps was the only ſovereign who deſerved this praiſe: in council he was prudent and firm, in battle intrepid but not raſh, and compaſſionate as if he had always been unhappy. In a word, it is not in the power of man to carry virtue to a greater height.

In conjunction with the queen his mother, who was regent, and underſtood perfectly well how to govern, he put a ſtop to the groſs abuſes which had crept into the exerciſe of the eccleſiaſtical power. The clergy pretended that the officers of juſtice ought to ſeize the goods of every excommunicated perſon, without examining whether the excommunication was juſt or not: but the king, wiſely diſtinguiſhing between the civil laws, to which every one owes obedience, and the church laws, whoſe power ought to extend only to conſciences, would not ſuffer the laws of the kingdom to yield to this abuſe of excommunications. From the firſt beginning of his taking the reins of government, he confined the pretenſions of the biſhops and laity within their proper bounds; he ſuppreſſed ſeveral factions in Brittany; and obſerved a prudent neutrality between the furiouſly inſolent Gregory IX. and the madly revengeful Frederick II.

He encreaſed his demeſnes, which were already very conſiderable, by the purchaſe of ſeveral lands. The revenues of the kings of France conſiſted then only in their own private property, and not in that of the people; and

their grandeur depended on a well regulated œconomy, in the ſame manner as that of a private nobleman.

His wiſe adminiſtration had enabled him to raiſe very conſiderable armies to oppoſe Henry III. king of England, and the vaſſals of France who had joined with him. Henry, who was poorer, and not ſo well obeyed by his ſubjects, had neither ſuch good troops, nor could he aſ-
ſemble them ſo readily. Lewis defeated
1241 him twice, particularly at Taillebourg in Poitou, when the king of England fled before him. This war was ſucceeded by an uſeful peace. The vaſſals of France returned to their duty, and never after ſwerved from it. The king moreover obliged the Engliſh to pay five thouſand pounds ſterling towards defraying the expences of the campaign.

If we reflect that he was barely twenty-four years old when he acted in this manner, and how much ſuperior his genius was to his fortune; we may eaſily figure to ourſelves what great things ſuch a prince might have done for his country had he remained at home; and cannot but regret that France ſhould have been rendered ſo miſerable by thoſe very virtues which might have made the whole univerſe happy.

In the year 1244, Lewis being ſeized with a violent diſorder, fell into a lethargic doſing, during which, it is ſaid, he thought that he heard a voice commanding him to take up the croſs againſt the infidels *. The inſtant he

* Father Daniel ſays, that during his inſenſibility, his friends placed upon his bed, a piece of the true croſs, and other relicks, which produced an inſtantaneous effect in his favour.

re-

recovered his ſpeech, he made a vow to engage in a cruſade. The queen his mother, his wife, his council, and all about him, were fully ſenſible of the dangerous conſequence of this fatal vow. The biſhop of Paris himſelf diſplayed them to him in the ſtrongeſt terms; but Lewis conſidered his vow as a ſacred bond, which it was not permitted man to unlooſe. He took four years in preparing for this expedition; and then leaving the government of the kingdom to his mother, he ſet out, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, with their wives, and almoſt all the knights in France; for he had in this army no leſs than three thouſand knights bannerets. One part of the prodigious fleet deſtined to carry ſo many princes and warriors ſet ſail from Marſeilles, and the other from Aiguemorte, which is no longer a ſea-port. 1243 †

From the account of the king's expences, we may perceive how greatly France muſt have been impoveriſhed by theſe cruſades. He gave to the lord of Vallery for maintaining thirty knights, eight thouſand livres: to the conſtable for fifteen knights, three thouſand livres: to the archbiſhop of Rheims, and the biſhop of Langres, each for fifteen knights, whom they brought with them into the field, four thouſand livres each. Beſides which, he likewiſe provided tables for one hundred and ſeventy two knights. Theſe expences, together with the preparations for this expedition, amounted to an immenſe ſum.

† It was in the year 1248, that Lewis IX. ſet ſail for Cyprus.

If the madneſs for cruſades, and the religious obſervance of oaths, had permitted Lewis's virtue to hearken to reaſon, he would not only have perceived the evil he was bringing upon his country, but alſo the great injuſtice of this expedition, which appeared to him ſo juſt and laudable.

Had his deſign been only to put France in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, it was what it had no right to: but he marched againſt the old and wiſe Melecſala *, ſultan of Egypt, who had certainly never given offence to the king of France. Melecſala was a Muſſulman, and that was the only pretence for making war upon him: but there was no more reaſon at that time for ravaging Egypt, becauſe the people followed the doctrine of Mahomet, than there would be at preſent for carrying a war into China, becauſe that empire is attached to the tenets of Confucius.

Lewis put into Cyprus, and was joined by the king of that iſland. They then landed in Egypt. The ſultan of Egypt was no longer in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem. Paleſtine was then ravaged by the Choraſmins, the ſultan of Syria had abandoned to them that wretched country; and the caliph of Bagdat who, though ſtill acknowledged, had only the ſhadow of power, no longer took part in thoſe wars. There were ſtill ſome Chriſtians remaining at Ptolemais, Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli; but by their diſſenſions, they continually ran the riſk of being cruſhed both by the Turkiſh ſultans and the Choraſmins.

* This prince's name was Malek al Saleh.

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In this ſituation of affairs it is difficult to find a reaſon why the king of France ſhould chuſe Egypt for the theatre of his war. Melecſala, who was now grown old and ſick, demanded a peace, which was refuſed him. Lewis was reinforced by freſh ſuccours from France, and ſaw himſelf at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men, by whom he was both obeyed and loved; and having to do with an army already defeated, and a ſultan who drew near his end, who would not have thought that Egypt, and even Syria itſelf would quickly have been ſubdued? yet one half of this flouriſhing army died of ſickneſs, and the other half was defeated near Maſſoura. St. Lewis ſaw his brother Robert of Artois killed by his ſide, and himſelf taken priſoner, with his two 1250
brothers, the count of Anjou, and the count of Poitiers. It was no longer old Melecſala, who reigned in Egypt, but his ſon Almoadan †. who muſt certainly have been a prince of a moſt generous ſoul; for when king Lewis made him an offer of a million of beſants in gold for his ranſom, and that of his followers, Almoadan generouſly remitted him the fifth part.

This ſultan was maſſacred by the Mamalucs, whom his father had formed into a militia; and the government being now divided, ſeemed to threaten ſome fatal revolution to the Chriſtians: however, the Egyptian council continued to treat with the king. The ſieur de Joinville relates, that the emirs themſelves propoſed in one of their aſſemblies to chuſe Lewis for their ſultan.

† Malek Almôhadan.

This Joinville was priſoner at the ſame time with the king, and what is related by a man of his character has doubtleſs ſome weight. But let us only reflect how frequently, in a camp or a private houſe, we are miſinformed of what paſſes in a neighbouring camp, or the next houſe, and likewiſe how improbable it is that Muſſulmen ſhould think of chuſing for their ſovereign a Chriſtian king, and an enemy, who was neither acquainted with their language nor their manners, and who deteſted their religion, and could only be conſidered by them as the chief of a band of foreign robbers; if we reflect upon this, I ſay, we ſhall find that Joinville has only reported a popular ſtory. By relating faithfully all that we hear, we are often led to repeat many things which ought at leaſt to be ſuſpected: and again, we have not the true hiſtory written by Joinville; it is at beſt but an incorrect tranſlation made in the time of Francis I. from a manuſcript which it would be very difficult to underſtand at preſent.

I have not been able to reconcile what hiſtorians tell us of the manner in which the Muſſulmen treated their Chriſtian priſoners. Some of them ſay, that they were brought one by one out of the place where they were confined, and aſked if they would deny Jeſus Chriſt; and ſuch as perſiſted in the Chriſtian faith had their heads ſtruck off.

Others again atteſt, that an old emir aſked the priſoners by an interpreter, if they believed in Jeſus Chriſt, and they anſwering in the affirmative, he replied, "Be of good courage then; he that died for you, and could riſe again, is doubtleſs able to deliver you."

Theſe

Theſe two accounts ſeem a little contradictory; and what is ſtill more ſo, is, that the emirs ſhould kill thoſe captives for whom they expected a ranſom‡.

Upon the whole, theſe emirs demanded no more than the 80,000 beſants to which the late ſultan had limited the ranſom; and when, in purſuance of the treaty, the French troops which were in Damietta had given up that city, we do not find that the conquerors committed the leaſt outrage on the women, but ſent the queen and her ſiſters-in-law away with marks of reſpect. All the Mahometan ſoldiers did not indeed behave with equal moderation, the vulgar in all countries being rude and brutal: there were doubtleſs ſome violencies committed, and ſome priſoners ill-treated, and even killed; but after all, I muſt own I am ſurpriſed that the ſultan did not put to death a much greater number of theſe foreign invaders, who ſailed from the ports of Europe to lay waſte the kingdom of Egypt†.

St.

‡ Joinville expreſly ſays, that the emirs deliberated among themſelves, whether they ſhould not behead the king and all the Chriſtians in their power, and that they were diſſuaded from this reſolution by a ſingle emir, whoſe breaſt was animated by a ſpark of honour, or perhaps of avarice. ---- After all, it would have been the moſt advantageous reſolution they could have taken.

† Whether it be owing to a partiality for the Mahometans, or an implacable hatred to the Chriſtians, we ſhall not determine; but certain it is, our author induſtriouſly palliates the cruelties of the former, by alledging meer conjectures, and exaggerates thoſe of the latter, without much regard to the truth of hiſtory. Why ſhould we believe the hiſtory of the Arabian author Ben-Schuhnah, rather than the memoirs of the Chriſtian knight Joinville, who was an

St. Lewis, on his being delivered from captivity, retired into Paleſtine, where he remained near four years with the ſhattered remains of his fleet and army. Inſtead of returning to France, he went to viſit Nazareth, and did not repair to his own dominions till after the death of queen Blanch, his mother; and then only in order to ſet on foot a new cruſade.

His reſidence at Paris proved a perpetual increaſe of advantage and glory to him; and he received marks of honour which can only be rendered to a virtuous king. Henry III. of England and his barons having had ſome diſpute, they made choice of him as ſovereign arbiter ‡; and altho' his deciſion, which was in Henry's favour, did not put a ſtop to the commotions in England, yet it proved to all Europe, that men are obliged, in ſpite of themſelves, to ſhew reverence to virtue. The reputation of Lewis, and the good order he obſerved in his kingdom, procured his brother, the count of Anjou, the honour of being choſen king of Sicily by the pope.

Lewis, in the mean time, enlarged his demeſnes by the acquiſition of Namur, Peronne, Avranches, Mortagne, and du Perche. He

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eye witneſs of what he relates? The wife of St. Lewis being beſieged at Damietta, and in danger of captivity, addreſſing herſelf to Joinville, who was a knight-errant, fell on her knees, and begged a boon, which he having granted on the faith of chivalry, ſhe inſiſted upon his cutting off her head, if ever her virtue ſhould be in danger; and he promiſed to comply with her requeſt.

‡ How could he pronounce a decree as ſovereign, when he was no more than an arbitrator choſen by the two parties?

might

might likewiſe have taken from the kings of England all they poſſeſſed in France: the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons rendered it very practicable; but Lewis preferred juſtice to uſurpation, and ſuffered them to remain in quiet poſſeſſion of Guienne, Perigord, and the Limouſin; but he obliged them to give up for ever all claim to Touraine, Poitou, and Normandy, which had been re-annexed to the crown of France by Philip Auguſtus. By this procedure he at once procured an honourable peace to his country, and raiſed his own reputation.

He was the firſt who eſtabliſhed the law or right of appeals; by which the ſubjects, which had before been obliged to ſubmit to the arbitrary ſentence of the judges of the baronies, might now carry their complaints into four grand, royal bailiwics, erected on purpoſe to hear and determine ſuch cauſes. In his reign men of letters were firſt admitted to ſeats in the parliament, where before the knights, who hardly knew how to read, uſed to decide the fortunes of the ſubjects. With all the piety of a prieſt, he ſhewed the enlightened firmneſs of a king, in putting a check to the encroachments of the court of Rome, by that famous pragmatic law, which ſecures thoſe rights called the liberties of the Gallican church.

In ſhort, thirteen years of his preſence in France repaired all the evils that had been wrought in his abſence; but his infatuation for cruſades hurried him beyond every other conſideration, and the popes took care to encourage him in it. Clement IV. granted him a tenth penny on the revenues of the clergy for three

three years. At length he departed a second time, with a force nearly equal to the former; and his brother, whom he had made king of Sicily, was to follow him: this time however he directed his devotion and his arms neither to Paleſtine nor the coaſt of Egypt, but ſailed with his fleet to Tunis.

The Chriſtians of Syria were no longer of the ancient race of Franks who ſettled in Antioch and Tyre; they were a mixed generation, of Syrians, Armenians, and Europeans: they went by the name of *Colts*, and theſe feeble remains of the original conquerors were in general ſubject to the Egyptians, and Tyre and Ptolemais were the only cities of ſtrength they had left in that part of the world; and, even in thoſe cities, the religious ſocieties of Templars and Hoſpitallers, whom we may in ſome ſort compare to the Mammaluc militia, carried on the moſt cruel and bloody wars againſt each other; and in a fight which happened between theſe military monks, there was not one Templar left alive.

But it may be aſked, what relation there could be between a petty, mongrel race, on the coaſt of Syria, and St. Lewis's expedition to Tunis? Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, an ambitious, cruel, and ſelf-intereſted prince, made the heroic ſimplicity of his brother Lewis ſubſervient to his deſigns. He pretended that the king of Tunis owed him ſeveral years tribute; the truth is, he wanted to get the ſovereignty of that country, and St. Lewis, as moſt hiſtorians tell us, (but on what foundation I cannot ſay) hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis. A ſtrange method of converting

verting a Mahometan to Chriſtianity, to make a deſcent ſword in hand upon his country!

The Chriſtians landed near the ruins of Carthage; but the king ſoon found himſelf beſieged in his own camp by the united forces of the Moors. And here his army underwent the ſame fate, by diſeaſes, and the intemperance of the ſoldiery in a new climate, as it had formerly done in Egypt; it was totally ruined: and one of his ſons, who was born at Damietta during the time of his captivity, died of this kind of contagion before Tunis. At length the king himſelf was attacked 1270 by it, and ordering himſelf to be laid in the duſt, he expired at the age of fifty-five, with the piety of a monk, and the courage of an hero. It is not one of the leaſt, among the many inſtances of the caprices of fortune, that the ruins of Carthage ſhould be the burying-place of a Chriſtian king, come thither to fight againſt Mahometans, in a country where queen Dido had firſt introduced the gods of the Syrians. Scarcely was Lewis dead, when his brother the king of Sicily arrived, who concluded a peace with the Moors, and conducted the ſhattered remains of the Chriſtian army back into Europe.

We cannot reckon leſs than one hundred thouſand perſons ſacrificed in St. Lewis's two expeditions; add to theſe the fifty thouſand who followed Frederick Barbaroſſa, the three hundred thouſand who compoſed the cruſade under Philip Auguſtus and Richard Cœur de Lion, with the two hundred thouſand at leaſt, who emigrated in the time of king John de Brienne; reckon likewiſe the one hundred and

ſixty

ſixty thouſand who had before that gone over to Aſia, not omitting thoſe who periſhed in the expedition againſt Conſtantinople, and in the wars ſucceeding that revolution, without mentioning the cruſade in the North, and that againſt the Albigenſes, and it will be found, that the Eaſt proved the ſepulchre of above two millions of Europeans.

Many countries were depopulated and impoveriſhed by theſe expeditions. The ſieur de Joinville expreſsly aſſerts, that the reaſon of his not accompanying St. Lewis on his ſecond cruſade, was, that he could not ſupport the expence of it, his fortune having been almoſt entirely ruined by the firſt.

Lewis's ranſom coſt the kingdom eight hundred thouſand beſants, which was about nine millions of the preſent current money of France. Now, of the two millions who died in the Eaſt, if each man carried with him out of the kingdom only one hundred franks, it will make an additional ſum of two hundred millions on account of theſe expeditions. The Genoeſe, the Piſans, and particularly the Venetians, were enriched by them; but France, England, and Germany, were totally exhauſted.

It is pretended that the kings of France were gainers by theſe cruſades, becauſe St. Lewis encreaſed his demeſnes, by purchaſing the lands of thoſe lords who had ruined their fortunes by following him: but, in reality, he encreaſed them only by his oeconomy during his thirteen years reſidence at home.

The only advantages procured by theſe enterpriſes, was the liberty which many boroughs purchaſed of their lords; thus the municipal govern-

government encreaſed by ſlow degrees from the ruins of the poſſeſſors of fiefs; and theſe communities finding in time that they could work and traffic on their own accounts, they began to exerciſe arts and commerce, which had long lain neglected, and almoſt extinguiſhed in a ſtate of ſlavery.

In the mean time, the ſmall number of Chriſtians diſtributed about the coaſt of Syria, were ſoon exterminated, or reduced to ſlavery. Ptolemais, their principal retreat, which was in effect only a place of refuge for robbers notorious for their crimes, could not reſiſt the forces of Melecſeraph, ſultan of Egypt, who took it in the year 1291. After which, Tyre and Sidon ſoon ſurrendered to him. In ſhort, towards the end of the twelfth century, there was not the leaſt trace to be found in Aſia of the emigrations of theſe Chriſtians.

CHAP. XLVII.

Continuation of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE by the CRUSADERS.

WE may have obſerved, that the feudal government of France produced many conquerors; the duke of Normandy, a peer of France, ſubdued England; a few private gentlemen conquered Sicily; and, during the cruſades, lords of France were for ſome time maſters of Antioch and Jeruſalem: in fine, Baldwin count of Flanders, alſo a peer of France, took Conſtantinople. We have ſeen that the Mahometans of

of Aſia yielded Nice to the fugitive emperors of Greece, and that theſe Mahometans were joined in alliance with the Greeks, againſt the Franks and Latins, their common enemies; during this time the irruptions of the Tartars into Aſia and Europe prevented the Mahometans from oppreſſing the Greeks. The Franks being in poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, elected their own emperors, and the popes confirmed them.

1216 Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, of the houſe of France, being elected, was crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III. The popes, at that time, flattered themſelves with a notion that they had the diſpoſal of the empires of the Eaſt and Weſt. We have ſeen what kind of claim they had upon the Weſt, and the immenſe quantities of blood it coſt to diſpute it. With regard to the Eaſt, their pretenſions were confined to Conſtantinople, and a part of Thrace and Theſſaly; and the Latin patriarch, notwithſtanding his profound ſubmiſſion to the pope's authority, inſiſted that it belonged to him alone to crown the emperors, his maſters; while the Greek patriarch, who held his ſee ſometimes at Nice, and at others in Adrianopolis, anathematized both the Latin emperor and his patriarch, and even the pope himſelf: in fact, this Latin empire of Conſtantinople was ſo inconſiderable, that Peter de Courtenay, on his return to Rome, could

1218 not avoid falling into the hands of the Greeks, and, after his death, his ſucceſſors poſſeſſed in reality no more than the city of Conſtantinople and its adjacent territory.

Achaia

Achaia was in the poſſeſſion of the French, and the Venetians had the Morea.

Conſtantinople, which had formerly been ſuch an opulent city, was now grown ſo poor, that Baldwin II. I can hardly ſtile him emperor, pledged to the Venetians for a ſum of money, the crown of thorns worn by Jeſus Chriſt, his ſwaddling cloaths, his robe, his napkin, his ſponge, and ſeveral pieces of the true croſs, which were afterwards redeemed by St. Lewis, who depoſited them in the holy chapel at Paris, with other relicks, which are teſtimonies of his piety, rather than of his knowledge in antiquity.

We find that this Baldwin II. came in 1245 to the council of Lyons, in which pope Innocent IV. excommunicated, in ſo ſolemn a manner, the emperor Frederick II. He there in vain implored the aſſiſtance of a cruſade, and returned to Conſtantinople, only to ſee it fall at laſt under the power of the Greeks, its lawful poſſeſſors. Michael Paleologus, emperor, and guardian to the young emperor Laſcaris, retook the city by means of a private intelligence. Baldwin after this fled into 1261 France, where he lived upon the money he raiſed by the ſale of his marquiſate of Namur to St. Lewis. Thus ended this empire of the cruſaders.

The Greeks brought back their manners into their empire; and the cuſtom of putting out eyes again revived. Michael Paleologus was the firſt who ſignalized himſelf in this way, by depriving his pupil of his ſight and liberty. It had been the cuſtom before, on theſe occaſions, to make uſe of a thin plate of metal, heated

heated red hot; but Michael uſed boiling vinegar, and the cuſtom has been ſtill preſerved, for there is a faſhion even in crimes.

Paleologus took care to procure a ſolemn act of abſolution for this cruel deed, from his patriarch and biſhops, who it is ſaid burſt into tears of joy at this pious ceremony. Paleologus beat his breaſt, with all the marks of a ſincere contrition, humbly aſked forgiveneſs of God, and at the ſame time took eſpecial care to keep his emperor and his pupil cloſely confined.

When I ſay that ſuperſtition returned to Conſtantinople with the Greeks, I deſire no clearer proof of it than what happened in the year 1284. The whole empire was at that time divided between two patriarchs; the emperor gave orders that each party ſhould preſent before God, in the church of St. Sophia, a memorial containing his reaſons; and that both theſe memorials ſhould be thrown into a conſecrated pan of coals, in order that the will of heaven might be known; the Almighty however declared himſelf no otherwiſe than by ſuffering both the papers to be conſumed to aſhes, and left the Greeks to their eccleſiaſtical diſputes.

The empire of the Eaſt in the mean time recovered a little ſtrength; Greece had been annexed to it before the cruſades, but it loſt almoſt all Aſia Minor and Syria. Greece was again ſeparated from it after the cruſades; but a ſmall part of Aſia Minor ſtill remained.

All the reſt of this empire was in the hands of new nations: Egypt was fallen a prey to the Mammaluc militia, originally formed of ſlaves, who afterwards became conquerors; they were ſoldiers

ſoldiers who had been gathered together from the northern coaſts of the Black Sea; and this new form of robbery was firſt eſtabliſhed during the time that St. Lewis was in captivity.

The empire of the caliphs ſeemed to draw near to its end in this century, while that of Conſtantine appeared alſo on the decline. The monarchy which had been founded by Mahomet was torn to pieces on all ſides by new uſurpers, who at the ſame time embraced his religion, till at length the caliphs of Bagdat, called by way of diſtinction the Abaſſidian caliphs, were utterly deſtroyed by the family of Gengis-Can.

Thus, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of devaſtations throughout one half of the globe; nation fell upon nation in thoſe prodigious emigrations, which have ſince by degrees formed great empires; for, while the cruſaders were pouring in upon Syria, the Turks undermined the Arabians; and at length the Tartars appeared, who fell upon the Turks, the Arabians, the Indians, and the Chineſe. Theſe Tartars, conducted by Gengis-Can and his ſons, changed the face of all Great Aſia, while Aſia Minor and Syria were the ſepulchres of the Franks and Saracens.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the EAST and of GENGIS-CAN.

ON the other ſide of Perſia, towards the rivers Gihon and Oxus, a new empire aroſe from the ruins of the caliphate. We call it Kouraſmia, or Kouraſſian, from the corrupted name of its conquerors. Sultan Mohammed reigned here about the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, at the time that ſo many kingdoms were ſwallowed up by the great irruptions of the Tartars. Mohammed the Choraſmian ruled from the heart of Irac, which is the ancient Media, to the other ſide of Sogdiana, and far into the country of the Tartars. He had moreover enlarged his dominions by the addition of a great part of India; ſo that he ſaw himſelf one of the moſt powerful ſovereigns in the world, but ſtill continued to acknowledge the caliph, whom he had ſtript of almoſt all his dominions, and who retained only the city of Bagdat.

From the other ſide of Taurus and Caucaſus, to the eaſtward of the Caſpian Sea, and from the river Volga to China, and to the northward as far as the frozen zone, extends that immenſe tract of country belonging to the ancient Scythians, who were afterwards called Tatars, and by us Tartars, from Tetcot-can, one of the moſt powerful of their princes. Theſe countries appear to have been peopled from time immemorial, but the inhabitants ſcarcely ever built towns; nature having given theſe people, the ſame as to the Arabs and Bedouins, that

reliſh for freedom and a wandering life, which made them always conſider towns or cities as priſons, in which kings, ſay they, keep their ſlaves.

Their continual excurſions, the frugal manner in which they were obliged to live, the ſmall ſhare of reſt or indulgence they could enjoy, paſſing their lives either under a tent, in their chariots, or upon the bare ground, rendered them a race of hardy men, inured to fatigue, who, like ſo many wild beaſts grown over numerous, ſpread themſelves on all ſides, at a diſtance from their dens, at one time towards the countries about the Palus Mœotis, from whence, in the fifth century, they drove out the inhabitants, who ruſhed in upon the Roman empire; at another time towards the eaſt and ſouth, where they over-ran Armenia and Perſia; and again, towards the coaſts of China, and as far as the Indies. Thus has this mighty reſervoir of barbarous and warlike men, ſpread, at different times, its innundations over almoſt the whole of our hemiſphere; and the people who at preſent inhabit thoſe deſerts, deſtitute of all learning, know only that their anceſtors have formerly conquered the world.

Each horde or tribe had its chief, and ſeveral of theſe chiefs were united under a Khan, to whom the neighbouring tribes of Dailailama paid a kind of homage, conſiſting chiefly in a ſlight tribute: the reſt of the tribes had no other notion of divine worſhip than what conſiſted in ſacrificing a few animals once a-year to the ſupreme being. I have never heard it ſaid that they offered human ſacrifices to the deity, nor that they had any belief of an evil and powerful being,

being, ſuch as the devil. The wants and occupations of a vagabond life preſerved them likewiſe from a great deal of that ſuperſtition which is the child of idleneſs; their only faults were thoſe which brutality naturally connects with a rough and ſavage way of life, and even theſe faults made them conquerors.

All that I have been able to gather of certainty, concerning the origin of the great revolution brought about by theſe Tartars towards the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is, that the hordes of Mongols, or Moguls, inhabiting the parts to the eaſtward of China, and who poſſeſſed the beſt iron mines, were the firſt who worked that metal, which indeed made them in the end maſters of thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of all the reſt. Cal-Can, or Gaſſar-Can, grandfather to Gengis-Can †, finding himſelf at the head of theſe tribes, who were the beſt armed and diſciplined of all the others, obliged many of his neighbours to become his vaſſals, and founded a kind of monarchy, ſuch an one at leaſt as could ſubſiſt among a wandering people, impatient of reſtraint. His ſon, whom our European hiſtorians call Piſouca, fixed this riſing empire, and after him Gengis-Can extended it over the greateſt part of the known globe.

Between his dominions and thoſe of China, lay a powerful ſtate, belonging to a Chan, whoſe anceſtors had quitted the wandering life of the Tartars, to build themſelves towns, after

† According to Fadlallah, who wrote the life of Gengis-Chan, his grandfather's name was Purſan-Chan, and his father's Yeſukay, or Piſuka Behadr.

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the example of the Chineſe. This prince was known even in Europe, and was the perſon to whom we at firſt gave the name of Preſter John: ſome critics have attempted to prove that the proper name is Prieſt John, though, moſt certainly, there never was the leaſt grounds for either of the appellations †.

The truth is, that the reputation of his capital, which made ſome noiſe in Aſia, had excited the greedineſs of certain Arabian merchants: theſe merchants were of the ancient communion of Neſtorius; ſome of their prieſts accompanied them in this expedition, and, in order to recommend themſelves to the Chriſtian potentates, who were at that time carrying on the holy war in Syria, they gave out that they had converted this great Can, the moſt powerful of the Tartarian chiefs, and had given him the name of John; and that he had even condeſcended to take upon him the prieſthood. From this idle ſtory came Preſter John to be ſo famous in the old chronicles of the cruſades. They afterwards went in ſearch of a Preſter John into Ethiopia, and gave this name to a black prince, who is partly a ſchiſmatic Chriſtian, and partly a Jew; but the Tartar Preſter John fell in a great battle by the arms of Gengis, after which the conqueror made himſelf maſter of his dominions, and cauſed himſelf to be choſen ſovereign of all the Tartar Cans, or chiefs under the name of Gengis-Can, which

† The name of this prince was Vang-Can, or Ung-Can; and the capital of his kingdom was Karacorum, ſituated about twenty days journey from the borders of China.

ſignifies King of Kings, or Grand-Can *, in room of that of Temugin †, which he bore before. It appears that the Tartar-Cans were accuſtomed to aſſemble diets at the beginning of the ſpring; theſe diets were called *Cour-ilté*. How do we know whether theſe aſſemblies, and our plenary courts in the months of March and May, may not have had the ſame origin?

Gengis-Can publiſhed an ordonnance in this aſſembly, enjoining the belief of one God only, and that no one ſhould be perſecuted on the ſcore of religion; a certain proof that his ſubjects were not all of the ſame belief. He eſtabliſhed ſtrict military diſcipline; the decurions, centurions, and captains of thouſands, and the chiefs of ten thouſands, under generals, were all obliged to perform daily duty: and all ſuch who did not go to the field, were obliged to work one day in the week for the Can's ſervice. Adultery was the more ſtrictly forbidden, on account of polygamy being allowed. There was but one Tartar canton in which the inhabitants were permitted to continue the practice of proſtituting their wives to their landlords. Sorcery was expreſsly forbidden, under pain of death: it has already been ſhewn, that Charlemagne puniſhed this crime only by a fine; but it follows from hence, that the Germans, Franks, and Tartars, believed alike in the power of magicians. Gengis-Can played

* Abulgazi-Can, the hiſtorian, derives this name from *jin*, which, in the Mogul language, ſignifies *great*, and the termination *ghiz*, implying the ſuperlative, *i. e. greateſt*, or *moſt great*.

† So called from Temujen-Can, a prince of the Moguls, whom his father defeated and ſlew.

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off a ſcheme in this great aſſembly of barbarous princes, which we frequently find employed in the hiſtory of the world; a prophet foretold him, that he ſhould be one day maſter of the univerſe: his ſubjects encouraged each other to fulfil the prediction.

Gengis iſſued a new law, which was the moſt proper imaginable for making heroes of all his ſoldiers; he ordered the penalty of death for ſuch who, when called to the aſſiſtance of their fellow-ſoldiers in time of battle, ſhould take to flight, inſtead of ſuccouring them. Having quickly made himſelf maſter of all the countries which lie between the river Volga and the wall of China, he afterwards fell upon that antient empire which was then called Catai. He took Cambalu, the capital of North Catai; this is the ſame city which we now call Pekin. Thus maſter of the one half of China, he ſoon carried his victorious arms into the heart of Corea.

It is not in the imagination, even of the idleſt of thoſe who buſy themſelves in romantic fictions, to conceive that a prince ſhould ſet out from the heart of Corea, which is at the eaſtern extremity of our globe, to carry the war into Perſia and the Indies; and yet this, Gengis-Can actually effected.

The caliph of Bagdat, named Naſſer, very imprudently applied to him for his aſſiſtance; the caliphs at that time were, as we have already ſeen, what the indolent kings of France were formerly, under the tyranny of the mayors of the palace: the Turks were the mayors of the caliphs.

Sultan Mohammed, of the Coriſmian race, of whom we have already made mention, was maſter of almoſt all Perſia; and Armenia, ever in a defenceleſs condition, paid him tribute. The caliph Naſſer, whom this Mohammed was determined to ſtrip at laſt of even the ſhadow of dignity which was left him, called Gengis-Can into Perſia.

The Tartarian conqueror was at that time ſixty years of age; it appears that he knew how to govern, as well as to conquer; and his life is one of the many inſtances, that there is no great conqueror, who is not at the ſame time a great politician; a conqueror is a man, whoſe head makes a happy and dextrous uſe of the arms of others. Gengis governed with ſo much ſkill that part of China which he had conquered, that there was not the leaſt attempt made towards a revolt during his abſence; and he knew ſo well how to govern his own family, that his four ſons, whom he made his four lieutenant-generals, ſhewed no other jealouſy than who ſhould beſt ſerve him; and were the chief inſtruments of his victories.

Our fights in Europe appear like ſlight ſkirmiſhes, when compared with the battles which have at different times laid Aſia in blood. Sultan Mohammed marched againſt Gengis at the head of four hundred thouſand fighting men; and on the other ſide of the river Jaxartes, near the city of Otrar, and in the immenſe plains which lie without the city, in 42 degrees of latitude, he met with the Tartar's army, conſiſting of ſeven hundred thouſand men, commanded by Gengis himſelf, aſſiſted by his four ſons: the Mahometans were defeated, and the city of

Otrar

Otrar taken. The beſiegers made uſe of the battering ram on this occaſion: it would ſeem that this war-engine was a kind of natural invention amongſt all people, in the ſame manner as the bow and arrows.

From the countries beyond the Oxus the conqueror advanced againſt Bocara, a city famous throughout all Aſia for its great commerce and manufactures of ſtuff, but eſpecially for the ſciences, which the Turkiſh ſultans had learnt of the Arabs, and which flouriſhed in Bocara and Samarcand: and, if we credit the Can Albugaſi, to whom we are indebted for the hiſtory of the Tartars, *bocar* ſignifies *learned*, in the Tartar-Mogul language; and it is from this etymology, of which there does not at preſent remain the leaſt trace, that came the name of Bocara. The Tartar, after having ranſomed this city, reduced it to aſhes, in like manner as Alexander did Perſepolis. The eaſtern writers who have given us the hiſtory of Gengis-Can, alledge, that he did it to revenge the death of his ambaſſadors, whom the ſultan had cauſed to be ſlain before the war. Whatever excuſe there might be for Gengis, there could be none for Alexander.

All the countries to the eaſtward and ſouthward of the Caſpian Sea, were now ſubdued, and ſultan Mohammed, a fugitive from province to province, dragging after him his treaſures and his misfortunes, died at laſt, abandoned by his own people. After this the conqueror penetrated as far as the river Indus, and while one of his armies was reducing Indoſtan, another, under the command of one of his ſons, ſubjected to his yoke all the provinces which

are to the southward and westward of the Caspian Sea; Corassan, Irac, Shirvan, and Aran. They passed the iron-gates, not far from whence it is said that the city of Derbent[4] was built by Alexander the Great. This is the only passage to cross from this side of Upper Asia over the ragged and inaccessible hills of mount Caucasus. From thence directing its march along the Volga towards Moscow, this army, every where victorious, fell upon and ravaged Russia, where nothing was to be seen but seizing and slaying of cattle and slaves. Being loaded with plunder, they repassed the Volga, and returned back to Gengis-Can by the north-east coast of the Caspian Sea. It is said that no traveller had ever before made the circuit of this river; and that these troops were the first who had dared to venture such a journey, through rude and uncultivated countries, inaccessible to any other men than Tartars, who wanted neither tents, provision nor baggage, but lived upon the flesh of their horses, as well as they could on that of other animals.

In this manner was the one half of China, and of Indostan, almost all Persia as far as the Euphrates, the frontiers of Russia, Casan, Astracan, and the whole of Great Tartary, reduced by the victorious arms of Gengis, in the space of less than eighteen years.

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[4] *Derbent*, or *Derbend*, is a Persian word, signifying the fastening or shutting of gates, [illegible] iron gates in a wall near this city, extending about a quarter of a league, from a mountain to the sea, through which gates and [illegible] were obliged to pass.

It

It is certain, that the part of Thibet where the great Lama reigns, was included within the bounds of his empire, and that he ſuffered that pontiff to remain in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his own territories, as there were a great number of worſhippers of that human idol in his armies. Conquerors have in all times ſpared the chiefs of religions, both on account of the tribute of flattery they are ſure to receive from them, and becauſe the ſubmiſſion of the head of the church generally draws after it that of the people.

In his return back from India, through Perſia, and the ancient Sogdiana, he ſtopped at the city of Toncat, to the north-eaſt of the river Jaxartes, as the center of his vaſt empire. Hither his ſons, who had been victorious on all ſides, with his generals, and all the tributary princes, brought him the treaſures of Aſia, which he diſtributed in largeſſes among his ſoldiers, who, till he ſhewed it them, were wholly unacquainted with this ſpecies of abundance. From hence came thoſe gold and ſilver ornaments which the Ruſſians are every now and then finding, and other monuments of luxury that were buried in the ſavage countries of Tartary; the only remains of thoſe numerous depredations.

During his ſtay here, Gengis held a triumphal plenary court in the plains of Toncat, which was as ſplendid and magnificent as that which had prepared the way for ſo many victories had been ſimple and warlike. Here might be ſeen a mixture of Tartarian barbarity and Aſiatic luxury; the Cans and their vaſſals, who had been companions of his conqueſts,

[illegible] antient Scythian chariots, [illegible] among the inhabi- [illegible] but these cars were [illegible] gold, and precious [illegible] from the nations [illegible] One of the sons of Gen- [illegible] assembly, of an [illegible] was at this meet- [illegible] of Asia, that he re- [illegible] five hundred am- [illegible] countries. From [illegible] again to his yoke [illegible] on the frontiers [illegible] he determin- [illegible] conquest of the great [illegible] was the darling ob- [illegible] but, as he was on [illegible] that empire, and [illegible] great wall, he was [illegible] camp, which put a [illegible] Never did any man before [illegible] different nations: [illegible] thousand eight [illegible] from east to west, [illegible] to south; but [illegible] all waste, and, ex- [illegible] three other cities [illegible] his whole em- [illegible] to the frontiers [illegible] China in- [illegible] after the taking [illegible] to resist him. [illegible] empire between [illegible] was one of the [illegible] known world.

It

It is aſſerted, that a great number of human victims were ſacrificed upon his tomb, and that this has continued to be done in Tartary at the death of any of his ſucceſſors. This cuſtom, worthy only of the moſt ſavage beings the earth produces, was common with the ancient Scythian princes, and has of late been found to prevail among the negroes of Congo. It is pretended, that it was looked upon as a point of honour among the domeſtics of the Cans of Tartary, to die with their lords, and that they even diſputed for the honour of being interred with them. If this enthuſiaſm was common among them, and that death appeared a matter of ſuch ſmall moment to theſe people, they were certainly formed to ſubdue all other nations. The Tartars, whoſe admiration of Gengis-Can redoubled when they no longer beheld him, imagined that he was not born in the ſame manner as other men, but that his mother had conceived him by the power of ſome heavenly influence; as if the rapidity of his conqueſts was not of itſelf a prodigy ſufficiently great. If ſuch men muſt have a ſupernatural being given to them for a parent, we muſt ſuppoſe it to be ſome evil demon.

The children of this great conqueror ſtill added to the dominions their father had left them; Octai, and ſoon after his ſon Coblai-Can, completed the conqueſt of China: this is the Coblai whom Mark Paolo ſaw in the year 1260, when, together with his father and uncle, he penetrated into thoſe countries, which were not even known by name at that time, and which he called Catai. Europe, where Mark Paolo rendered himſelf ſo famous for having

travelled into the dominions conquered by Gengis-Can, was for a long time ignorant both of these dominions and their conquerors.

Pope Innocent IV. indeed, in 1246, sent some Franciscan friars into Tartary; but these monks, who assumed the title of ambassadors, saw very little, were treated with great contempt, and did no kind of service.

So little was known of what passed in that considerable part of the world, that an impostor, named David, made St. Lewis believe, when he was in Syria, that he was sent to him from the Great Can of Tartary, who was turned Christian; upon which St. Lewis sent the monk Rubruquis thither, in 1258, to enquire into this affair. By the relation of Rubruquis it appears, that he was introduced to the grandson of Gengis-Can, who then reigned in China: but what lights could be procured from a monk, who was only a traveller among people whose language he was ignorant of, and who had not an opportunity of rightly distinguishing what he did see? Accordingly, all that he brought back with him from this voyage was, a great number of false notions, and some few truths of very little consequence.

Thus then, at the same time that the princes and barons of Christendom were bathing the kingdom of Naples, Greece, Syria, and Europe, in blood, Asia was ravaged by the Tartars. Almost all our hemisphere suffered at the same time.

Gengis made use of the right which the eastern monarchs have always been in possession of, and which resembles that which the *father* of a family had by the Roman law, viz.

that

that of chuſing their own heirs, and dividing their poſſeſſions among their children, without any regard to the claim of elderſhip: he declared his third ſon, Octai, Great Can of Tartary, and his poſterity reigned in the north of China till about the middle of the 14th century. The force of arms introduced the Tartars into this kingdom, and religious diſputes drove them out again: the prieſts of the Lama were for exterminating the Bonzes; theſe latter found means to make the people revolt. The princes of the blood-royal of China took advantage of this eccleſiaſtical diſcord, and in the end drove out their conquerors, enervated by eaſe and plenty.

Another ſon of Gengis-Can, named Touchi, had for his ſhare the provinces of Turqueſtan and Bactria, the kingdom of Aſtracan, and the country of the Uſbec Tartars. The ſon of this Touchi travelled as far as Poland, into Dalmatia, Hungary, and to the very gates of Conſtantinople: this prince was called Batou-Can; the princes of Crim-Tartary deſcend from him in a male-line, and the Uſbec-Cans, who at this day inhabit the true Tartary, to the northward and eaſtward of the Caſpian-Sea, derive their origin likewiſe from the ſame ſource; they are maſters of the northern Bactria, but they only lead a wandering life in that fine country, and lay waſte all the parts they inhabit.

Tuti, or Tuli, another ſon of Gengis, had the kingdom of Perſia, while his father was yet living. The ſon of this Tuti, named Houlacou, paſſed the Euphrates, which Gengis-Can had never done; he totally deſtroyed the empire of the caliphs in Bagdat, and made him-

ſelf maſter of a part of Aſia Minor, or Natolia; while the native maſters of that delightful part of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, were driven from their capital by the Chriſtian cruſaders.

A third ſon, named Zagatai, had the provinces on the other ſide of the Oxus, Candahor, the northern India, Cachemir, and Thibet: and the ſeveral deſcendants of theſe four monarchs preſerved themſelves for ſome time by the force of arms in the poſſeſſion of their monarchies, which had been founded on rapine.

If Charlemagne was blameable for dividing his dominions, Gengis-Can was doubtleſs commendable for what he did. The dominions of Charlemagne lay contiguous to each other, had nearly the ſame laws, were under the ſame religion, and might be governed by one man. Thoſe of Gengis, infinitely more extenſive, ſeparated by vaſt deſerts, and divided into different religious ſects, could not continue for any length of time in obedience to one ruler.

In the mean time, the vaſt power of the Tartar Moguls, which was firſt founded in the year 1220, began to grow weak in all its parts; till Tamerlane, in little more than a century afterwards, eſtabliſhed an univerſal monarchy in Aſia, which again underwent a diviſion.

Let us now turn our eyes towards the Weſt, and ſee what paſſed in Europe in the thirteenth century.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of Charles of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies; and of the Sicilian Veſpers.

WHILE the grand revolution brought about by the Tartars was taking its courſe, and the ſons and grand-ſons of Gengis-Can were dividing the greateſt part of the world amongſt them; while the cruſades ſtill continued to be carried on, and St. Lewis was unhappily making preparations for his laſt fatal one; the illuſtrious and imperial houſe of Suabia was exterminated in a manner unheard of till then: the remains of its blood was ſhed upon a ſcaffold.

The emperor Frederick II. was at once the emperor of the popes, their vaſſal, and their enemy; and did them homage for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. His ſon, the emperor Conrad IV. took poſſeſſion of this kingdom. 1254 I find it confidently aſſerted by moſt authors, that this Conrad was poiſoned by his brother Manfreddo, or Mainfroi, Frederick's natural ſon; but I do not ſee that any one of them have brought the leaſt proof of this aſſertion. Manfred ſeized upon this kingdom, which of right belonged to his nephew Conradin, ſon to the emperor Conrad, and grand-ſon to Frederick I. The pope, as lord paramount, ſeemed to have a right to puniſh Manfred; but what right could he have to ſtrip an helpleſs orphan of the dominions to which he was the ſole and lawful heir? But the proſpect of advantage made every thing appear lawful. The

popes both hated and feared this family, and only waited to find a prince, who, in receiving the inveſtiture of theſe kingdoms, might be able to conquer them. Charles, count of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, offered himſelf to the pope for this purpoſe, and the holy father ſoon concluded the matter with him, notwithſtanding he had before promiſed the inveſtiture to others.

This count of Anjou was already in poſſeſſion of Provence in right of marriage; and what ſtill conſiderably added to his power, was his having ſubdued the city of Marſeilles: he moreover enjoyed a dignity, which a man of abilities might have turned greatly to his advantage, which was, his being the only ſenator of Rome. Pope Urban IV. who ſtood
1264 in fear of this prince, even when he called him in to his aſſiſtance, gave him the inveſtiture only on condition that he ſhould renounce all claim to that dignity at the end of three years, and pay an annual tribute of three thouſand ounces of gold to the apoſtolic chair, for the feudal dependance of the kingdom of Naples; and if he ſhould ever ſuffer the payment to run behind-hand more than two months, that he was to be excommunicated. Charles made not the leaſt heſitation to ſubſcribe to theſe terms, or indeed any others which they brought him. The pope permitted him to levy
1266 the tenth penny upon all the church-revenues in France. He ſet out with ſtore of money and troops, cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Rome, and gave Manfred battle on the plains of Beneventum, where fortunately for *him that prince* fell in the combat. The victor

made

made the moſt rigid uſe of his conqueſt, and appeared to be as ſevere and cruel as his brother St. Lewis was humane.

In the mean time young Conradin, the true heir to the kingdom of Naples, was in Germany, while, during this interregnum his country was laid waſte; and while they were ſtripping him of the kingdom of Naples, his adherents encouraged him to come and defend his inheritance. He was at that time only fifteen years old; but his courage far ſurpaſſed his age. He put himſelf at the head of an army, together with his kinſman the duke of Auſtria, and came to ſupport his rights. The people of Rome were for him, and the excommunicated Conradin was received in that city amidſt the general acclamations of the inhabitants, at the very time that the pope did not dare to approach his own capital. 1268

It may be aſſerted with truth, that of all the wars of this country, that carried on by Conradin was the moſt juſt; but it was likewiſe the moſt unfortunate; for the pope ſet up a cruſade againſt him as well as againſt the Turk; and he, together with his relation Frederick, duke of Auſtria, was defeated and taken priſoner in Apulia. Charles of Anjou, who ought to have done juſtice to their valour, cauſed them to be condemned by the civil magiſtrates. Their ſentence was, that they had merited death, for having taken up arms againſt the church; and theſe two princes were publicly executed at Naples by the common hangman. Pope Clement IV. to whom they ſeemed to have fallen a ſacrifice, did not dare to approve of this piece of barbarity, which was the

more

more execrable, as it was concealed under the forms of juſtice. I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my ſurpriſe, that St. Lewis never reproached his brother with this baſe action, ſince he of all men whom the Egyptians had ſpared under leſs favourable circumſtances, ought more than any other to have condemned this cruelty of Charles of Anjou. The conqueror, inſtead of humouring the Neapolitans, irritated them by continual oppreſſions; ſo that himſelf and his whole nation were held in the utmoſt horror by them.

It is the general opinion, that a Sicilian gentleman, named John de Procida, diſguiſed in the habit of a Franciſcan friar, plotted that famous conſpiracy, by which all the French were to be murdered at the ſame hour on Eaſter Sunday, on ringing the bell for veſpers. It is certain that this John de Procida had prepared the minds of all the Sicilians for a revolt; that he went from Conſtantinople to Arragon; and that the king of that country, Peter, ſon-in-law to Manfred, had joined with the Greek emperor againſt Charles of Anjou: but it is hardly probable that they had completely formed the plot of the Sicilian veſpers. If any ſuch plot had been formed, it ought to have been put in execution chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet we do not hear of any one being murdered there. Malaſpina relates, that a French-
1282 man, named Droguet, was committing a rape upon a woman in Palermo on Eaſter-day, at the very time the people were going to veſpers: the cries of the woman drew the populace to her aſſiſtance, who killed the Frenchman. This firſt impulſe of private revenge animated the general

general hatred: the Sicilians, encouraged by John of Procida, and ſtimulated by their own fury, cried out with one voice, that they would deſtroy the enemies of their country; and accordingly every Frenchman that was found in Palermo was put to death. The ſame fury ſpread itſelf through the whole iſland, and produced a general maſſacre. It is ſaid that they ripped up women with child, and took the half-formed infants out of their wombs; and that even the prieſts themſelves maſſacred all their French penitents. It is moreover affirmed, that only one gentleman of Provence, named des Porcellets, eſcaped the general ſlaughter: nevertheleſs, it is certain that the governor of Meſſina, with his whole garriſon, retired out of the iſland into the kingdom of Naples.

The blood of Conradin was thus revenged, but not upon thoſe by whom it had been ſhed. The Sicilian veſpers proved the ſource of new miſeries to this people, whoſe happy climate ſeemed only to have rendered them more wicked and more miſerable.

It is now time to ſee what new diſaſters were produced in this ſame century by the abuſe of cruſades, and of religion in general.

CHAP. L.

Of the CRUSADE againſt the ALBIGENSES.

THE murtherous diſputes between the empire and the pontificate, the riches of the monaſteries, and the abuſe which a number of biſhops

biſhops had made of their temporal power, promiſed ſooner or later to irritate the minds of the people, and inſpire them with a ſecret deſire of independence. Arnold of Breſcia had ventured, even in Rome, to ſtir up the people to ſhake off the yoke. They began to reaſon a good deal concerning religion in the twelfth century. Certain men roſe up, who would acknowledge no law but that of the goſpel, and preached up tenets nearly the ſame with thoſe at preſent profeſſed by the proteſtants. Theſe people were called Vaudois, becauſe there were a great number of them in the valleys of Piedmont; Albigenſes, from the city of Albi; and *Bons hommes*, (or good people) from the regularity of life on which they piqued themſelves; laſtly, they were called Manichæans, as general appellations at that time given to the heretics. Every one was ſurpriſed, towards the latter end of the twelfth century, to find the province of Languedoc filled with theſe ſectaries.

In the year 1198, pope Innocent III. deputed two Ciſtercian monks to try theſe heretics. "We command, ſaid he, the princes, counts, and all the lords of your province, to aſſiſt them with all their power againſt theſe heretics, by the authority which they have received for the puniſhment of evil doers: ſo that when brother Rainier ſhall have pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt them, the lords do forthwith confiſcate all their goods, baniſh them from their eſtates, and puniſh them with the utmoſt rigour, if they dare to reſiſt. Now we have given power to brother Rainier to oblige the lords to comply with theſe our orders, by excommunication, and by interdict

terdict upon their eſtates, &c." This was the firſt origin of the inquiſition.

An abbot of Citeaux was afterwards nominated, in conjunction with ſeveral other monks, to go to Toulouſe, and execute what ought to have been done by the biſhop of the place. This procedure provoked the count de Foix, and all the other princes of the country, who had been already brought over by the reformers, and were greatly irritated againſt the court of Rome.

This ſect was in great part compoſed of burghers, reduced to indigence by the long ſlavery from which they had been ſcarce freed, and likewiſe by the cruſades. The abbot of Citeaux made his appearance amongſt them with the equipage of a prince; but he in vain aſſumed the character of an apoſtle; for the people cried out to him, "Either quity our pomp, or your ſermon." A Spaniard, biſhop of Oſma, a very worthy man, who was then at Toulouſe, adviſed the inquiſitors to lay aſide their ſumptuous equipages, to walk on foot, to lead a life of abſtinence, and imitate the behaviour of the Albigenſes, the ſureſt means of converting them. St. Dominic, who had accompanied this biſhop, joined with him in ſetting an example of this apoſtolic life, and ſeemed at that time to wiſh that no other arms might be employed againſt error. But Peter de Caſtelneau, one of the inquiſitors, was accuſed of having made uſe of arms which ſuited his character, by privately exciting ſeveral of the neighbouring lords againſt the count of Toulouſe, and fomenting a civil war. This inquiſitor 1207

quiſitor was murdered; and the ſuſpicion fell upon the count of Toulouſe.

Pope Innocent III. did not heſitate to releaſe the ſubjects of the count of Toulouſe from their oath of allegiance. Such was the treatment given to the deſcendants of that Raymond of Toulouſe, who was the firſt in ſerving the Chriſtian cauſe in the cruſades.

The count, well appriſed of the fatal conſequences of a bull under certain circumſtances, readily ſubmitted to the ſatisfaction required of him. One of the pope's legates, named Milo, commanded him to repair to him at Valence, and there deliver up ſeven forts which he held in Provence, to enliſt in a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, his own ſubjects, and to make the *Amende honorable*. To every one of which articles the count payed obedience.

1209

There now appeared, on the one ſide, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, Simon count of Montfort, with the biſhops of Sens, Autun, and Nevers, at the head of their reſpective troops, and the unfortunate count of Toulouſe, in the midſt of them as their hoſtage: on the other ſide, a ſet of people animated by the ſpirit of fanaticiſm and religious conviction. The city of Bezieres attempting to hold out againſt the cruſaders, the inhabitants, who, upon its being taken, had fled for refuge to the churches, were all put to the ſword, and their city reduced to aſhes. The inhabitants of Carcaſſone, terrified at their fate, implored the mercy of the cruſaders: upon which they had their lives ſpared, and were permitted to quit

quit the city half naked, while their conquerors took poſſeſſion of all their goods and eſtates.

The name of Macchabee, and Defender of the church, was given to count Simon of Montfort, who made himſelf maſter of a great part of the country, ſeizing into his hands the caſtles of all the ſuſpected lords, laying ſiege to thoſe who refuſed to ſurrender, and perſecuting all the heretics who dared to ſtand up in their own defence. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians themſelves tell us, that upon Simon of Montfort's giving orders to ſet fire to a pile of faggots, intended for the execution of theſe unhappy wretches, an hundred and forty of them chanting a pſalm, ran and threw themſelves headlong into the midſt of the flames. By thus unpeopling Languedoc, they ruined the count of Toulouſe, who defended himſelf only by negociations. He repaired to St. Giles to meet the legates and abbots, who were the leaders of 1210
this cruſade, where he pleaded his cauſe with tears before them; but was told that thoſe tears came only from fury and reſentment; and the legate gave him his choice, either to yield to Simon of Montfort all the lands which this count had uſurped, or to be excommunicated. On this occaſion, however, the count of Toulouſe had at leaſt the courage to prefer excommunication. After the ſentence was pronounced, he fled for refuge to the court of his brother-in-law, Peter, king of Arragon, who undertook to defend him, having almoſt as much reaſon as the count to be diſſatisfied with the chief of the cruſaders.

In the mean time the eagerneſs of gaining indulgences and riches, increaſed the number

of

of crusaders. The bishops of Paris, Lisieux, and Bayeux, repaired to the siege of Lavaur. At this siege there were made prisoners eighty knights, with the lord of the town, who were all sentenced to be hanged; but the gibbet being broken down, they were delivered up to the crusaders, who massacred them all in cold blood. They threw the sister of the lord of Lavaur into a well, round which they burnt
1211 three hundred of the inhabitants, who refused to renounce their opinions.

Prince Lewis, who was afterwards king Lewis VIII. did indeed join these crusaders, in order to share in the spoils; but Simon of Montfort soon got rid of a companion who would have been his master.

It was the interest of the popes to bestow the conquered lands on Montfort; and the scheme was so well laid, that the king of Arragon could never, with all his mediation, procure the least favour for the count of Toulouse. He therefore seems to have taken up arms only when every other method failed him.

The battle which he fought against the crusaders near to Toulouse, and in which he was
1213 killed, pafled for one of the most extraordinary fact had ever happened. It is related by a multitude of writers, that Simon of Montfort, with only eight hundred horse and one thousand foot, attacked the army of the king of Arragon and the count of Toulouse, while they were carrying on the siege of Muret. They say that the king of Arragon had with him a hundred thousand fighting men; and that there never was a more complete defeat, as also that Simon of Montfort, the bishop

biſhop of Toulouſe, and the biſhop of Cominge, divided their army into three corps, in honour of the holy Trinity.

But is it likely, that ſo ſmall an army as eighteen hundred men, going to attack an enemy an hundred thouſand ſtrong in the open field, ſhould divide itſelf into three bodies? It was a miracle, ſome writers perhaps will ſay; but military gentlemen, who now-a-days read theſe ſtrange ſtories, will be very apt to treat them as nonſenſical and abſurd.

After this victory, the pope held a general council at Rome, whither the count of Toulouſe came to aſk forgiveneſs. I cannot diſcover what foundation he had to flatter himſelf that they would reſtore him his dominions. He was very happy to eſcape with his liberty; and the council was even ſo generous as to allow him a penſion out of his eſtates of four hundred marks of ſilver.

When Innocent III. was dead, count Raymond of Toulouſe did not meet with milder treatment: he was beſieged in his capital by Simon of Montfort; but here this conqueror, who had acquired ſuch glory by doing ſo much miſchief, had an end put to his ſucceſſes, and to his life; being cruſhed to pieces by the fall of a great ſtone from the walls. 1218

He left a ſon behind him on whom the pope conferred all his father's rights; but he could not give him the ſame credit. The cruſade againſt Languedoc now began to abate of its vigour. The ſon of old Raymond, who had ſucceeded his father, was excommunicated as he had been: upon which Lewis VIII. king of France,

France, obtained from young Montfort the ceſſion of all the countries which he was not able to keep; but death put a ſtop to Lewis, in the midſt of his conqueſts; and this ſtate did not come entirely under the dominion of the kings of France till the reign of Philip the Bold.

The popes divided the ſpoils, and the young count of Toulouſe was obliged in 1228 to yield them all the county of Venaiſſin, containing five ſmall cities. This was the place of his aſylum, and a fief of the empire, as were all the territories ſituated on the other ſide of the Rhone. It is therefore to be wiſhed, that the claim of the holy ſee on this little ſtate had been leſs odious, and that it had not been the price of blood. The good underſtanding between the court of France and pope Gregory IX. wreſted from the family of the counts of Toulouſe theſe ſmall remains of a patrimony which they had been in poſſeſſion of ever ſince the time of Charlemagne. The miſunderſtanding between the emperor Frederic II. and this ſame pope reſtored it to them again. The emperor, as lord paramount, and inſulted in his prerogative, did this act of juſtice. Philip the bold, king of France, upon taking poſſeſſion afterwards of the large county of Toulouſe, reſtored the Venaiſſin to the popes, which by the liberality of the kings of France they have ever ſince continued in poſſeſſion of. The city and territory of Avignon were not included in this donation, but paſſed to the Anjou branch of the houſe of France, which then reigned in Naples, and remained with them till the time that the unfortunate queen Joan of Naples yielded to the pope the perpetual inheritance.

During

During the reign of St. Lewis, the pope ſent two Dominicans and a Franciſcan friar, with the title of inquiſitors, into the country of the Albigenſes, which was at that time very quiet. The two Dominicans rendered themſelves ſo odious there, that the inhabitants drove them out of the city. Rome itſelf was for a long time obliged to ſuſpend the inquiſition; but at length it was eſtabliſhed. Nevertheleſs, this ſect ſtill continued to ſubſiſt, though weak, few in number, and reduced to live in obſcurity.

It was this ſect that brought the ſcourge of the inquiſition upon Europe. Pope Innocent IV. eſtabliſhed it all over Italy, 1251 Naples excepted, as a new tribunal which was to fix the authority of the holy ſee on a firm foundation. We ſhall ſee in the courſe of this work what cruelties this tribunal exerciſes both in France and Spain.

CHAP. LI.

The STATE of EUROPE in the thirteenth CENTURY.

WE have ſeen how Europe was exhauſted of its men and money by the cruſades, without their having in the leaſt contributed to civilize it. Germany was one entire anarchy after the death of Frederic II. All the lords ſtrove who ſhould get moſt of the public revenues annexed to the imperial ſtate; ſo that when Robert of Hapſburg was elected em-

peror in 1273, they only granted him ſoldiers, with which he conquered Auſtria from Ottocaris, who had taken it from the houſe of Bavaria.

During the interregnum which preceded the election of this Rodolph, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, entirely freed themſelves from the ſlight tribute they were wont to pay the emperors.

Much about this time, likewiſe, ſeveral cities erected a municipal form of government, which ſtill continues. They united together for their mutual defence againſt the encroachments of the great lords; and the hanſe towns, Lubec, Cologne, Brunſwick, and Dantzick, being in proceſs of time joined by eighty others, formed a commercial republic, which was diſtributed into ſeveral different ſtates. The Auſtreques were now eſtabliſhed, which are courts of arbitration in compacts between the lords, as well as between the towns; and hold the places of laws and courts of juſtice, which were wanting in Germany.

Italy was formed into a new plan of government before and under the reign of Rodolph. Several cities having aſſumed their freedom, it was confirmed to them for a ſum of money. At this time it appeared as if Italy might be for ever ſeparated from the German dominion.

The German lords, in order to render themſelves more powerful, were all of them deſirous of having a weak emperor; and the four princes and their archbiſhops, who had by little and little arrogated to themſelves the right of election, had joined with ſome other princes in chuſing Rodolph of Hapſburg for emperor, only on account

count of his not being poſſeſſed of any conſiderable territories. This Rodolph was a Swiſs lord, who had rendered himſelf formidable by being one of thoſe chiefs called by the Italians Condottieri*. He had been champion for the abbot of St. Gall, in a diſpute waged between him and the biſhop of Baſil, about ſome pipes of wine. He had alſo relieved the town of Straſburg: but his fortune was ſo little proportioned to his courage, that he was for ſome time ſteward of the houſhold to that very Ottocaris, king of Bohemia, who, when he was afterwards preſſed to do him homage, as emperor, replied, "That he owed him nothing, for he had always payed him his wages." The princes of Germany did not at that time foreſee that this very Rodolph would be the founder of a houſe which continued for a long time to be the moſt flouriſhing in Europe, and which has more than once been on the point of acquiring as great a power in the empire as that of Charlemagne. This power took a conſiderable time in forming; and at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century in particular, the empire had little or no influence over Europe.

France would have been happy under a ſovereign ſuch as St. Lewis was, had it not been for that fatal fondneſs for cruſades, which occaſioned all his misfortunes, and at length coſt him his life on the ſands of Afric. We

* Condottieri, literally conductors, though generally applied to carriers, and thoſe who keep mules for hire. It was the name formerly given to ſoldiers of fortune, who raiſed and commanded mercenary troops.

may perceive, by the great number of veſſels fitted out for theſe fatal expeditions, that France might have eaſily acquired a large maritime commerce. The ſtatutes of St. Lewis relating to trade; the new police eſtabliſhed by him in the city of Paris; his pragmatic ſanction by which he confirmed the diſcipline of the Gallic church; his four grand bailiwicks for the trying of cauſes among his vaſſals, and which gave riſe to the parliament of Paris; his reguſations and exactneſs with regard to the coin, do all of them plainly ſhew, that France might at that time have been made a very flouriſhing kingdom.

As to England, it was as happy under Edward I. as the manners of the times would allow. The country of Wales was annexed to it; and it had conquered Scotland, who was obliged to receive a king from the hand of Edward. Indeed the Engliſh were no longer in poſſeſſion of Normandy nor Anjou; but they ſtill had the whole province of Guienne. Edward I. had but a ſlight and ſhort war with France; but this is to be attributed to the almoſt continual difficulties he was involved in at home, either at the time he was making the conqueſt of Scotland, or when he afterwards loſt it.

We ſhall preſently allot a more particular and extenſive article to Spain, which we have left for a long time a prey to the Saracens. It now remains to ſay a word or two of Rome.

The popedom was in the ſame ſtate in the thirteenth century in which it had been for ſo long time before. The popes, though not well ſettled in Rome, and having but a tottering authority in Italy, being at beſt but maſters of

a few

a few places in St. Peter's patrimony and of Umbria, ſtill continued to give away crowns, and ſit in judgment upon kings.

In 1289, pope Nicholas ſolemnly determined at Rome the diſputes between the king of Portugal and his clergy. We have ſeen that in 1283, pope Martin IV. depoſed the king of Arragon, and gave his dominions to the king of France, who was not able to put the pope's bull in force. Boniface VIII. gave Sardinia and Corſica to another king of Arragon called James the Juſt.

In the year 1300, when the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland was in diſpute, pope Boniface VIII. wrote thus to king Edward: "You ought to know that it is our place to give a king to Scotland, which has always in full right belonged and ſtill does belong the church of Rome; but if you pretend to have any right thereto, ſend your lawyers to us, and we will do you juſtice; for we reſerve this affair wholly to ourſelves."

When about the end of the thirteenth century ſome princes of Germany depoſed Adolph of Naſſau, ſucceſſor to the firſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria; they pretended a bull from the pope for depoſing Naſſau, by which they gave the pope that power which of right belonged to themſelves. This ſame Boniface hearing of the election of Albert, wrote thus to the electors: "We command you to proclaim publicly that Albert, who calls himſelf king of the Romans, muſt come and appear before us, to anſwer to the charge of high treaſon, and of excommunication incurred."

It is known, that Albert of Auſtria, inſtead of appearing to theſe ſummons, gave Naſſau battle near Spires, where he defeated and killed him; and that Boniface, after having loaded him with excommunications, laviſhed his benedictions as profuſely on him in 1303, when he ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance againſt Philip the Fair. Then we find him ſupplying, by the plenitude of his power, all defects or irregularities in Albert's election; and conferring on him by his bull the kingdom of France, which of right belonged to the emperors. Thus can intereſt change ſides, and without ceremony make uſe of every thing holy or profane that will anſwer its end.

But other crowned heads tamely ſubmitted to the papal yoke. Mary, queen to Charles the Lame, king of Naples, having laid claim to the kingdom of Hungary, carried her cauſe before the pope and his cardinals; and the pope adjudged the kingdom to this princeſs by default. Nothing was wanting to this ſentence but a good army.

However, we ſhall ſoon ſee that France did not pay quite ſo much deference to Boniface. On the whole, it is ſufficiently well known that this pontiff inſtituted the jubilee; and that he added a ſecond crown to the pontifical cap, to ſignify the two powers with which he was inveſted. John XXII. afterwards added a third: but John had not two naked ſwords carried before him, as Boniface had when he went to diſtribute his indulgencies.

CHAP.

CHAP. LII.

Of SPAIN in the twelfth and thirteenth CENTURIES.

WHEN the Moors had been driven out of the kingdoms of Toledo and Valentia, by the cid, at the end of the eleventh century, Spain was divided into ſeveral governments. The kingdom of Caſtile contained the two Caſtiles, Leon, Galicia, and Valentia. The kingdom of Arragon was then annexed to Navarre. Andaluſia, a part of Murcia, and Granada, ſtill belonged to the Moors. Barcelona was governed by counts, who did homage to the kings of Arragon. One third of Portugal belonged to the Chriſtians; but this was only a county. The ſon of a duke of Burgundy, deſcendant of Hugh Capet, whom they called count Henry, had made himſelf maſter of it at the beginning of the twelfth century.

A cruſade would have been more effectual in driving the Moors out of Spain than out of Syria; but it is very probable that the Chriſtian princes of Spain were not very deſirous of this foreign aid, chuſing rather to tear their country to pieces among themſelves, and diſpute it with the Moors, than ſee it invaded and ſtript by cruſaders.

Alphonſo, ſirnamed the Battle-giver, king of Arragon and Naples, took Sarragoſſa from the Moors, which city afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, and never again returned under the dominion of the Moors. 1114

Count Henry's ſon, whom I ſhall call Alphonſo of Portugal, to diſtinguiſh him from the many other kings of that name, took Liſbon, the beſt port in Europe, from the Moors, 1147 together with all the reſt of Portugal, the two Algarves excepted. He gained ſeveral battles, and at length cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Portugal. Pope Alexander III. did not fail on this occaſion to pretend that it was he who gave him his crown, and 1160 demanded a tribute of two marks of gold from him; to which the king ſubmitted, knowing that in the diſputes between ſo many different ſovereigns in Spain, the pope's ſuffrage might ſometimes incline the ballance in favour of the party he eſpouſed.

A very few efforts would now have been ſufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of this part of the continent: but as to this, it was neceſſary that the Spaniſh Chriſtians ſhould be united among themſelves; whereas they were almoſt perpetually at war with one another. At one time the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon were in arms againſt each other, and at another Navarre was engaged againſt Arragon, and ſometimes theſe three provinces were all of them at war together; add to this, that each kingdom was frequently diſturbed by inteſtine broils of its own. There were three kings of Arragon, who ſucceſſively annexed a great part of Navarre to their dominions, while the Moors were in poſſeſſion of the reſt. Alphonſo the Battle-giver, who died in 1134, was the laſt of theſe three kings. We may judge of the temper of thoſe times, and the badneſs of the adminiſtration, by this king's will, who left

left his kingdoms to the knights templars and knights of Jeruſalem. This was, in fact, bequeathing a civil war as his laſt legacy. Fortunately, however, theſe knights were not in a condition to enforce this will. The ſtates of Arragon, who ſtill preſerved their freedom, choſe for their king don Ramirez, brother to the deceaſed monarch, though he had embraced a monaſtic life for upwards of forty years, and had lately been made a biſhop. He was called the Prieſt-king; and pope Innocent II. granted him a diſpenſation to marry.

In theſe commotions Navarre was rent from Arragon, and became a kingdom of itſelf; it afterwards fell by marriage to the counts of Champagne, it next belonged to Philip the Fair and the houſe of France, and at laſt came to the families of Foix and Albert, and is now ſwallowed up in the Spaniſh monarchy. 1134

During theſe diviſions, the Moors ſtrengthened themſelves, and retook Valentia. The frequent incurſions they made gave riſe to the order of Calatrava. The monks of Citteaux finding themſelves powerful enough to defray the expences of defending the city of Calatrava, armed their convert brothers, together with ſeveral ſquires, and fought under the badge of the ſcapulary. Soon after this the order itſelf was inſtituted, which is now neither religious nor military; every perſon is allowed to marry once, and it conſiſts in nothing more than enjoying ſeveral conſiderable commanderies in Spain. 1158

The quarrels among the Chriſtians ſtill ſubſiſted, of which the Mahometans at different

times made their advantage. In the year 1197, a king of Navarre, named don Sancho, being perſecuted by thoſe of Caſtile and Arragon, was obliged to go to Africa, and implore ſuccours from the miramolin, or emperor of Morocco; but this ſtep, which was ſo likely to produce a revolution, had no ſuch effect.

Heretofore, when almoſt all Spain was united under king Rodriguez, a prince of great courage, though ſomewhat incontinent, it was ſubdued in a leſs ſpace than two years; and now that it was divided among ſo many different powers, jealous of each other, neither the African emperor, nor the Mooriſh king of Andaluſia, could make any conqueſts in it. The reaſon was, that the Spaniards were become better ſoldiers, the country almoſt full of ſtrong garriſons, and all parties united in a time of general danger; add to this, that the Moors were as imprudent in their conduct as the Chriſtians.

1200 At length all the Chriſtian nations of Spain joined together, to make head againſt the African forces which were preparing to fall upon them.

Miramolin Mahomet Ben Joſeph having croſſed the ſea with an army of near one hundred thouſand men, and being joined by the Moors of Andaluſia, allured himſelf of making a conqueſt of Spain. The rumour of this great armament touſed the attention of ſome French knights; the kings of Caſtile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their powers to withſtand the common danger; the kingdom of Portugal furniſhed a body of troops; and the ſe two

1212 great armies met together in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, as

it

it is called, on the borders of Andaluſia, and the province of Toledo. The archbiſhop of Toledo was by the ſide of the king of Caſtile, Alphonſo the Noble, and carried the croſs at the head of the troops. Miramolin had in one hand a ſabre, and in the other the alcoran. The Chriſtians gained the victory; and this day, the 16th of July, ſtill continues to be celebrated every year in Toledo: but this victory was more glorious than uſeful; the Moors of Andaluſia were ſtrengthened by the remains of the African army, while that of the Chriſtians was preſently diſperſed.

Almoſt all the knights who had been preſent at this battle returned to their reſpective homes after it was over. In thoſe days, though they knew how to fight, they were ignorant of the art of making war; and the Moors were ſtill leſs acquainted with it than the Chriſtians. Neither Moors nor Chriſtians kept an army conſtantly in the field.

Spain, taken up with her own misfortunes for the ſpace of five hundred years, did not begin to take part in the troubles of the reſt of Europe, till the time of the cruſades againſt the Albigenſes. We have ſeen that Peter I. king of Arragon, was obliged to aſſiſt his vaſſals of Languedoc and the country of Foix, who were oppreſſed on account of religion; and that he died fighting againſt Simon of Montfort, who had carried away his ſon, and conquered Languedoc from him. His widow, Mary of Montpellier, who had retired to Rome, pleaded her ſon's cauſe before Innocent III. beſeeching him to uſe his authority to get him ſet at liberty. There have been ſome ſhort periods of

time in which the court of Rome gained great honour by her behaviour; this was one of them. Innocent ordered Simon of Montfort to re-
1213 ſtore this child to the people of Arragon, which order was immediately complied with. Had the pope's always made the ſame uſe of their power, they would have become the law-givers of the world.

This young king, whoſe name was James, was the firſt of the kings of Arragon to whom the ſtates of that kingdom took the oath of
1238 allegiance. It was him who took the iſland of Majorca from the Moors, and drove them out of the fine kingdom of Valentia, a country favoured by nature, who has endowed its inhabitants with a manly ſtrength, and furniſhed them with every thing that can delight the ſenſes. I do not know how ſo many hiſtorians can aſſert that the city of Valentia was not above a mile in circumference, and at the ſame time that upwards of fifty thouſand Moors marched out of it. How could ſo ſmall a town contain ſo great a number of people?

This ſeemed a period marked out for the glory of Spain and the expulſion of the Moors. Ferdinand III. king of Caſtile and Leon, took
1236 the famous city of Cordova from them, which was the reſidence of their firſt kings, and was a much finer city than Valentia. Here they had built their magnificent moſque†, and a number of noble palaces.

This Ferdinand alſo ſubdued the Moors of the province of Murcia; this country, though

† See Chap. xxxiv. Vol. I.

of a ſmall extent, is extremely fertile, and the Moors uſed to get a great quantity of ſilk here; which they manufactured into curious ſtuffs. In ſhort, after a ſiege of ſixteen months, he made himſelf maſter of Seville, the 1248 moſt opulent city the Moors had in their poſſeſſion. Death at length put an end to his ſucceſſes. If divine honours are due 1252 to thoſe who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain with as much reaſon reverences the name of Ferdinand as France invokes her St. Lewis. He enacted wholeſome and wiſe laws, as well as the king of France, and like him erected ſeveral new courts of judicature. It is likewiſe ſaid, that he inſtituted the royal council of Caſtile, which 1248 has ſubſiſted ever ſince his time.

He had for a miniſter one Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, a man who did 1252 no ſervice to his country, and whom we muſt not confound with that Ximenes, who was afterwards regent of Caſtile.

The kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon were at that time very powerful; but we are not to imagine that their kings were abſolute: there was no abſolute monarch then in Europe, and the nobles of Spain kept their king in ſtricter limits than in any other kingdom whatſoever. The people of Arragon remember to this day the formulary uſed at the inauguration of their kings. The grand juſticiary of the kingdom addreſſed him in the name of the ſtates in theſe words: *Nos que valemos tanto como vos, os hazemos nueſtro rey y ſenor; con tal que guardeis nueſtros fueros, ſi no, no.* "We, who are equal with yourſelf, do conſtitute you our king, on condition

dition that you maintain the laws *; otherwiſe not."

The grand juſticiary did not conſider this as an empty matter of form, but pretended to have a right to accuſe the king before the ſtates, and to ſit as preſident at the trial. I do not however meet with any inſtance of their having put this privilege in force †.

Caſtile poſſeſſed as extenſive privileges, and the royal authority was as much limited there by the ſtates, as in Arragon; in ſhort, we may eaſily judge, that in countries where there were ſuch a number of lords, it was as difficult for the kings to conquer their ſubjects as to drive out the Moors.

Alphonſo, ſurnamed the Aſtronomer, or the Wiſe, ſon to St. Ferdinand, experienced the truth of this. It has been ſaid of him, that while he was ſtudying the heavens, he loſt the earth; this trivial thought would have ſome juſtice in it, had Alphonſo neglected buſineſs for ſtudy, but that he never did: the ſame fund of underſtanding which had made him a great philoſopher, made him likewiſe an excellent king. He is accuſed by ſeveral authors of atheiſm, for having ſaid on ſome occaſion, "That if he had been of God's privy-council, he would have given him ſome good advice relating to the motion of the planets." But theſe authors do not conſider

* *Fueros* ſignifies privileges, not laws, and comes from *Forum*, the place at Rome where thoſe privileges were defended.

† It is a little remarkable, that our author ſhould make ſuch a reflection in this place, and, in the very next page, tell us, that this very king was deprived of his crown by an aſſembly of the ſtates.

that

that this piece of pleaſantry of this wiſe king fell upon the Ptolemaic ſyſtem, of whoſe inſufficiency and contradictions he could not but be fully ſenſible. This prince rivalled the Arabians in the ſciences; and the univerſity of Salamanca, which had been erected by his father, produced no one equal to him: his fables, called after him the Alphonſine Fables, remain to this day monuments of glory to him, and of ſhame to thoſe princes who make a merit of their ignorance; but at the ſame time it muſt be owned that they were compiled by Arabians.

The difficulties with which his reign was diſturbed were certainly not the effects of that love for the ſciences which rendered Alphonſo ſo illuſtrious, but the conſequences of his father's extravagant expences; for as St. Lewis drained France by his cruſades, ſo did St. Ferdinand ruin Caſtile for a time, even by the acquiſitions he made, as they generally coſt him more than they were worth.

After the death of St. Ferdinand, his ſon had the kingdoms of Navarrè and Arragon to encounter, who were grown jealous of his power.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, which this philoſophic prince had to ſtruggle with, the princes of the empire caſt their eyes on him as the moſt proper perſon for their emperor, and actually made him an offer of the imperial diadem; and if Rodolph of Hapſburg was choſen in his room, I am of opinion that it may be wholly attributed to the great diſtance which divided Caſtile from Germany. Alphonſo had at leaſt given proofs that he merited the empire, by the manner in which he governed the kingdom of Caſtile. His collection

of

of laws, called *Las partidas**, ſtill continue in that country to form the principal baſis of their juriſprudence.

1283 In his old age he ſaw his ſon Sancho III. rebel againſt him; but certainly the ſon's crime is by no means the father's ſhame.

This Don Sancho was the only ſon of a ſecond nuptials, and pretended, during his father's life-time, to be declared heir to the crown, in prejudice to the rights of the grand-children by the firſt marriage; and a meeting of his faction, under the title of the ſtates, went ſo far as to make him an offer of the crown. This audacious attempt is a freſh proof of what I have ſo often ſaid, that there was no law in Europe at that time; and that almoſt every thing was decided according to the occurrences of the times, and the caprices of mankind.

Alphonſo the Wiſe was now reduced to the grievous neceſſity of joining with the Moors againſt his ſon and rebellious Chriſtian ſubjects. This was not the firſt alliance which Chriſtians had entered into with Mahometans againſt other Chriſtians; but it was certainly the moſt juſt.

Alphonſo invited the miramolin of Morocco to his aſſiſtance, who thereupon croſſed the ſea; and the African and Caſtilian monarchs met at Zara on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and ſpeech of the miramolin on this occaſion deſerves to be perpetuated by hiſtory to all poſterity. When they met, he gave the place of honour to Alphonſo, with theſe words. "I

* So called from being divided into heads and chapters.

treat

treat you thus becauſe you are unfortunate, and enter into alliance with you purely to revenge the common cauſe of all kings and all fathers." Alphonſo gave his ſon battle, and overcame him; a further proof how well he deſerved to reign, but he died ſoon after his victory. 1284

The king of Morocco was obliged to return to his dominions; and Don Sancho, the unnatural ſon of Alphonſo, and the uſurper of the throne of his nephews, ſucceeded to the crown, and even reigned happy and undiſturbed.

The dominion of Portugal at that time contained the two Algarves, from which the Moors had been at length driven out. Algarves, in the Arabian language, ſignifies the fruitful country; and here let us not forget to obſerve, that Alphonſo the Wiſe had greatly aſſiſted the Portugueze in making this conqueſt; all which, in my opinion, proves beyond contradiction, that Alphonſo had no reaſon to repent of having cultivated the ſciences, as ſome hiſtorians would ſeem to inſinuate, who, in order to acquire the doubtful reputation of politicians, affect to diſpute thoſe arts which they ought to honour; beſides, Alphonſo was ſo far from neglecting temporal matters, that he obtained from pope Gregory X. the gift of certain tenths out of the revenues of the clergy of Leon and Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his ſucceſſors.

His family indeed was involved in ſome troubles, but it ſtill ſtrengthened itſelf againſt the Moors; and his grandſon Ferdinand IV. took Gibraltar from them, which was not ſo difficult a conqueſt then as it is at preſent. 1303.

This

This Ferdinand IV. is by writers called the Summoned, becauſe, ſay they, having one day in a fit of anger ordered two noblemen to be thrown from the top of a rock; they, before they were puſhed off, ſummoned him to appear in the preſence of God within a month from that day, at the end of which time he died. It is to be wiſhed that this ſtory was true, or at leaſt believed to be ſo, by thoſe who think they have a right to do every thing with impunity. This prince was father to the famous Peter the Cruel, of whoſe exceſſive ſeverity we ſhall have occaſion to take notice; and who, though of the moſt implacable diſpoſition, and the moſt cruel in his puniſhments, died without being ſummoned, like his father, to God's tribunal.

Arragon, which, as we have already ſeen, had fortified itſelf, gained an increaſe of power by the acquiſition of Sicily.

The popes pretended to a power of diſpoſing of the kingdom of Arragon, for two reaſons; the firſt was, that they conſidered it as a fief of the church of Rome, and the ſecond, that Peter III. ſurnamed the Great, who was accuſed of the maſſacre of the Sicilian veſpers, had been excommunicated, not for having had a ſhare in that maſſacre, but for having taken Sicily, which the pope would not beſtow on him. His kingdom of Arragon therefore was, by the pope's decree, transferred to Charles of Valois, grandſon to St. Lewis; but this bull could not be carried into execution. The houſe of Arragon remained in a flouriſhing ſtate; and ſoon after the popes, who had endeavoured to de-

1294 ſtroy it, contributed to enrich it ſtill more. Boniface VIII. in order to de-

prive

prive the Genoeſe and Piſans of the poſſeſſion of Sardinia and Corſica, which they were diſputing with each other, beſtowed thoſe two iſlands on James IV. king of Arragon, ſurnamed the Juſt.

At that time the kingdoms of Caſtile and France were in ſtrict union with each other, as being both enemies to the houſe of Arragon; ſo that the French and Caſtilians were allies in their kingdoms, in their nations, and in their private perſons.

What paſſed at that time in France, during the reign of Philip the Fair, and in the beginning of the fourteenth century, next demands our attention.

CHAP. LIII.

Of PHILIP the FAIR, and of Pope BONIFACE VIII.

THE reign of Philip the Fair, who came to the throne in 1285, proved a remarkable æra in France, by the admiſſion of the third ſtate into the general aſſemblies of the nation, by the inſtitution of the ſupreme tribunals, called parliaments, by the firſt erection of a new peerage in favour of the duke of Brittany, by the abolition of duels in civil matters, and by the law of appanages, by which the ſucceſſion was limited wholly to the heirs-male. We ſhall at preſent confine ourſelves to two other objects, namely, the quarrels of Philip the

the Fair with pope Boniface VIII. and the extinction of the order of knights templars.

We have already ſeen, that Boniface VIII. of the family of the Cajetani, reſembled Gregory VII. was more learned in the canon-law, and not the leaſt inferior in his zeal for ſubjecting all powers to the church, and the whole church to the holy ſee. Italy was more than ever divided by factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines; the latter were originally partizans of the emperors; and the empire being at that time little better than an empty name, the Gibellines made uſe of that name to ſtrengthen and aggrandize themſelves. Boniface had for a long time, while a private man, been of the Gibelline party; but we readily ſuppoſe that he turned Guelphean when he came to the papal crown. It is reported of him, that as he was offering the aſhes on an Aſh-Wedneſday to an archbiſhop of Genoa, that prelate threw ſome of them at him, (as is the cuſtom) and, inſtead of ſaying "Remember thou art a man," he ſaid, "Remember thou art a Gibelline." The family of the Colonnæ, who are the chief barons of Rome, and poſſeſs ſeveral noble villas in the centre of St. Peter's patrimony, were of the Gibelline faction, and their intereſt with the popes was the ſame as that of the German lords with the emperor, and of the French nobility with the king of France. The lords oppoſed their feudal power in almoſt every thing to the ſovereign power.

The other barons in the neighbourhood of Rome were in the ſame ſituation, and they united themſelves to the kings of Sicily and the Gibellines of the Italian cities. We muſt not

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be ſurprized therefore, if the popes at all times perſecuted them, and were perſecuted by them; almoſt all theſe lords had at one and the ſame diplomas as vicars of the holy ſee, and vicars of the empire, which muſt neceſſarily prove the ſource of civil wars, a ſource which not even the reſpect due to religion could cloſe up, and which the inſolence of Boniface VIII. only ſerved to increaſe.

Theſe exceſſes were not to be ſuppreſſed, but by the ſtill more violent ones of Alexander VI. above a century afterwards. The pontificate, in the time of Boniface VIII. was no longer in poſſeſſion of all thoſe territories which were held by Innocent III. and which reached from the port of Oſtia to the Adriatic Sea. It pretended indeed to the ſupreme dominion, and poſſeſſed ſome cities in its own right, but it was ſtill in the rank of very middling powers. The great revenue of the popes conſiſted in what was furniſhed them by the whole body of the church, in the tenths which they frequently collected from the clergy, in diſpenſations, and in taxes.

In ſuch a ſituation, it was certainly moſt prudent for Boniface to keep fair with a power who was able to deprive him of a great part of theſe revenues, and ſtrengthen the Gibelline faction againſt him. Accordingly, at the beginning of his diſputes with the king of France, he invited Charles of Valois, brother to Philip, over to Italy, who arrived there with ſome few horſemen. The pope ſoon afterwards made him marry the grand-daughter of Baldwin II. emperor of Conſtantinople, who had been diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions, and then ſolemnly declared him emperor of the Eaſt; ſo that,

that, in the ſpace of two years, he had diſpoſed of the empires of the Eaſt and Weſt, and of France; for we have already obſerved, (in the forty-ſecond chapter) that when this ſame pope was reconciled to Albert of Auſtria, in 1303, he made him a gift of the kingdom of France. Of theſe three preſents one only however was received, which was the empire of Germany, becauſe Albert was already in actual poſſeſſion of it.

The pope, before his reconciliation with the emperor, had beſtowed another title on Charles of Valois, which was that of Vicar of the Empire, in Italy, and particularly in Tuſcany. He thought, that as he nominated the maſters, he might certainly appoint the vicars. Charles of Valois, in order to pleaſe his benefactor, commenced a violent perſecution againſt the Gibelline faction in Florence; and yet at the very time that Charles was doing him this piece of ſervice, Boniface inſulted his brother, the king of France, and drove him to the greateſt extremities. Nothing more clearly proves that paſſion and animoſity frequently get the better even of ſelf-intereſt.

Philip the Fair, who wanted to ſpend a great deal of money, and had but very little, pretended that the clergy, as being the richeſt order in the ſtate, ought to contribute to the wants of the kingdom, without the permiſſion of Rome. The pope, on the other hand, wanted to have the money which had been raiſed by a tenth penny for the aſſiſtance of the Holy Land, which was no longer in a condition to be relieved, and was under the dominion of a deſcendant of Gengis-Can; this money king Philip

Philip had made uſe of for carrying on the war in Guienne in 1301 and 1302, againſt Edward king of England. This was the firſt occaſion of the quarrel between the pope and the king; and the inſolence of a biſhop of Pamiers put things into a ſtill greater ferment. This man had caballed againſt the king in his dioceſe, which at that time was under the juriſdiction of the crown; and the pope preſently after nominated him his legate to the French court. This ſubject being thus inveſted with a dignity which, according to the court of Rome, made him equal with the king himſelf, comes to Paris, braves his ſovereign, and threatens to lay his kingdom under an interdict. A layman, who had behaved in this manner, would have been puniſhed with death; but here the king was obliged to uſe the utmoſt precaution even in ſecuring the perſon of this inſolent churchman, and at laſt was forced to deliver him into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbiſhop of Narbonne.

Immediately upon this out comes a bull from the pope, in which it is declared, "That the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt is placed with full power over the kings and kingdoms of the earth." At the ſame time all the biſhops of France receive an order from his holineſs to repair to Rome. A nuncio, who was only archdeacon of Narbonne, comes and preſents this bull and theſe orders to the king, at the ſame time declaring to him, that he muſt acknowledge, as well as all other princes, that he holds his crown of the pope. This inſolence was anſwered with a moderation which appeared little conſiſtent with Philip's character: he contented himſelf with ordering the

the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and ſent the nuncio back to his own country; at the ſame time prohibiting the biſhops from ſtirring out of the kingdom. Notwithſtanding which, there were at leaſt forty of them, with ſeveral of the heads of religious orders, who went to Rome.

The king was now obliged to call a general aſſembly of the ſtates, only to decide this plain queſtion, Whether the biſhop of Rome
1303 was king of France or not?

Cardinal le Moine, a Frenchman by birth, who had now no other country but Rome, came to Paris to negociate matters, and, if he could not ſucceed, to excommunicate the kingdom. This new legate had likewiſe orders to bring the king's confeſſor, a Dominican friar, with him to Rome, in order to give an account of his own conduct, as well as of the king's. Every thing that human art could invent to exalt the pope's authority was exhauſted on this occaſion; the biſhops were all ſubmiſſive to him; new religious orders immediately depending on the holy ſee every where carried his ſtandard; a king who confeſſed his moſt ſecret thoughts, or at leaſt was ſuppoſed to confeſs them to one of thoſe monks; and then, to complete the whole, this monk ſummoned by the pope, his maſter, to come and give an account at Rome of the conſcience of his penitent. Notwithſtanding which, Philip did not yield, but ſeized upon the temporalities of all the abſent prelates. The ſtates appeal to a future general council, and a future pope: an expedient which betrayed a conſcious weakneſs; for to appeal to the pope was acknowledging his authority, and what

what occaſion have mankind for either council or pope to know that all governments are independent, and that we owe obedience only to the laws of our country?

The pope then deprived all the eccleſiaſtical bodies of France of the right of election, and the univerſities of their right of conferring degrees, and even of teaching, as if he was revoking a gift of his own granting. Theſe were ſtill but feeble arms; and he in vain endeavoured to ſtrengthen them by the forces of the German empire, Albert of Auſtria not being ſufficiently ſtrong to afford him any aſſiſtance.

The French king was now at full liberty to treat the pope as a prince with whom he was at open war. Accordingly he joined with the family of Colonna; and William de Nogaret goes into Italy under plauſible pretences, where he privately raiſes a few horſe, with which he joins Sciarra Colonna. They ſurpriſed the pope at Agnani, a town in his own demeſnes, and the place of his birth, crying out, "Let the pope die, and long live the French!" The pontiff however did not loſe his courage; he dreſſed himſelf in his cope, put his tiara upon his head, and holding the keys in one hand, and the croſs in the other, he preſented himſelf with an air of majeſty before Colonna and Nogaret. It is very doubtful whether Colonna had not the brutality to ſtrike him; however, the writers of that time ſay, that he cried out to him, "Tyrant, renounce the pontificate, which thou diſhonoureſt, as thou haſt obliged Celeſtine to renounce it." Boniface replied, with an air of intrepidity, "I am pope, and I will die pope." The French then plundered his palace, and

made themselves masters of his treasure. But after these outrages, which had more the appearance of a robbery than the just revenge of a great king, the inhabitants of Agnani, perceiving the inconsiderable number of the French, and ashamed to leave their countryman and their pope in the hands of foreigners, they fell upon them, and drove them out of the town. Boniface then returned to Rome, meditating revenge; but died almost immediately upon his arrival.

1303

Philip the Fair pursued his enemy even into the grave, by endeavouring to get his memory condemned in a council; and actually engaged Clement V. who was born his subject, and who then held his see at Avignon, to declare the process commenced against the pope, his predecessor, equitable and in form. He was there accused of having prevailed on pope Celestine V. his predecessor, to resign the pontificate, of having procured his own election by illegal methods; and, in short, of having put Celestine to death in prison. This last charge was indeed but too justly founded; one of his own domestics, named Maffredo, and thirteen other witnesses, deposed publicly that he had more than once insulted the religion from which he derived his power, by saying, "How probable has the fabulous story of Jesus Christ been to us!" and consequently, that he denied the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and Transubstantiation. These depositions are still to be seen in the collection of juridical papers. An accusation is generally strengthened by the number of witnesses, but here they served rather to weaken it; for is it

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at all likely, that a ſovereign pontiff ſhould have made ſuch a declaration before thirteen witneſſes as no one would chuſe to do before a ſingle perſon. Clement V. was prudent enough to ſtifle by delays an enquiry which would have proved very diſhonourable to the church.

Some time afterwards, all Europe and Aſia were aſtoniſhed by an event which had alſo its ſource in the vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair.

CHAP. LIV.

Of the Puniſhment of the KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, and the Suppreſſion of that Order.

AMONG the many contradictions which enter into the government of this world, it is certainly none of the leaſt, that there ſhould be ſuch an inſtitution as that of armed monks, who make a vow of living at the ſame time as anchorets and ſoldiers.

The knights templars were accuſed of uniting in their order, every bad quality of the two profeſſions; namely, the debauchery and cruelty of the ſoldier, and that inſatiable thriſt of gain, which is imputed to thoſe great orders, who have made a vow of poverty.

While they and the knights hoſpitallers of St. John were enjoying the fruits of their labours, the Teutonick order, which, as well as theirs, was firſt inſtituted in the Holy Land, made themſelves maſters in the thirteenth century, of Pruſſia, Livonia, Courland, and Sa-

mogitia. The Teutonick knights were accused of reducing the clergy as well as the peasants to a state of slavery; of robbing them of their possessions; of usurping the rights of the bishops; and of exercising every shocking act of rapine and plunder. But conquerors are generally exempt from a rigid enquiry.

The templars had made themselves objects of envy, by living amongst their countrymen with all that pomp and splendor which are the attendants of great wealth, and in those licentious pleasures in which soldiers generally indulge themselves, when unrestrained by the marriage curb.

1306 The severity of the taxes, and the mal-administration of Philip and his council, in regard to the coin, raised a sedition in Paris. The knights templars, who had the keeping of the king's treasury, were accused of having been concerned in the mutiny; and we have already seen, that Philip the Fair was implacable in his revenge.

The first who preferred accusations against this order, were a burgher of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, and Noffo de Florentin, an apostate templar, both of them at that time under confinement for crimes they had committed. These men demanded to be carried before the king, to whom they had some affairs of the utmost importance to discover, and which they would reveal to no other person. Had these men not heard of the king's indignation against the templars, they could hardly have expected to gain a pardon by accusing them. They had a hearing, and, in consequence of the deposition they made before the king, he directed all the

the bailiffs, and other officers of juſtice in the kingdom, to call in aid and aſſiſtance; and ſent them an order ſealed, with prohibition, upon pain of death, to open it before the 13th of October. The day being come, 1309 each of them opened his order, and found it was to impriſon all the knights templars; accordingly they were all arreſted, and the king immediately cauſed all their eſtates to be ſeized upon in his name, till they could be properly diſpoſed of.

It appears very plain to me, that their ruin was reſolved upon long before this affair broke out. Their accuſation and impriſonment happened in 1309; but letters have been found from Philip the Fair to the count of Flanders, dated from Melun in 1306, in which he requeſts that prince to join with him in extirpating the templars.

It now remained to try this vaſt multitude of criminals. Pope Clement V. who was Philip's creature, and reſided at that time at Poitiers, joined with him, after having ſettled ſome diſputes between them concerning the right which the church had of judging religious orders, and the king's right of judging his ſubjects. The pope himſelf examined ſeventy-two knights, and the reſt were proſecuted by inquiſitors and commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe. Bulls were diſpatched to all the potentates of Europe, to excite them to imitate the example of France. The courts of Caſtile, Arragon, Sicily, and England, complied with them, ſo far as to baniſh all of the order; but theſe unfortunate people were put to death no where but in

France. They were accuſed, by two hundred and one witneſſes, of denying Jeſus Chriſt at their admittance into the order, of ſpitting on the croſs, and of worſhipping a golden head erected on a block, with four feet. The novice kiſſed the knight who had made his vow, and was received by him with a kiſs at his mouth, his navel, and a certain part which ſeems to be ſeldom deſtined for ſuch a purpoſe: he then ſwore to give himſelf up in all things to the brotherhood. We learn from the informations relating to this affair preſerved down to our time, that theſe ſeveral articles were acknowledged by ſeventy-two templars to the pope himſelf, and by one hundred and forty-one to brother William, a Franciſcan friar and inquiſitor at Paris, before witneſſes. It is further added, that the grand-maſter of the order himſelf, the grand-maſter of Cyprus, the maſters of France, Poitou, Vienne, and Normandy, made the ſame confeſſion to three cardinals who were ſent by the pope to examine them.

Certain it is, that above one hundred knights were put to the moſt cruel torture; that fifty more were burnt in one day near the abbey of St. Anthony of Paris; and that the grand-maſter, Jean de Molay, and Guy brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, two of the principal lords in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were alſo thrown alive into the flames, on the very ſpot where now ſtands the equeſtrian ſtatue of king Henry IV.

The tortures with which ſo many citizens, otherwiſe reſpectable, were put to death, the cloud of witneſſes which appeared againſt them, and

and the numerous confeſſions of the accuſed themſelves, ſeem ſtrong proofs of their crime, and the juſtice of their puniſhment.

But, at the ſame time, how many things may be offered in their favour; in the firſt place, of all the witneſſes who depoſed againſt theſe templars, the greater part have only given in idle and vague accuſations.

Secondly, Very few of the evidences ſwear to their denying Chriſt; and indeed, what were they to gain by reviling a religion which was their ſupport, and for which they fought.

Thirdly, Allowing that ſeveral of them, who had been witneſſes to, and even ſharers in the debauches of the princes and clergy of thoſe times, might have expreſſed a contempt for the abuſes of a religion which had been ſo ſhamefully diſhonoured both in Aſia and Europe, and that in their freer moments they might have expreſſed themſelves much after the ſame manner as Boniface VIII. did when ſpeaking of it; yet, after all, this is but the folly of young people, and by no means chargeable upon the order.

Fourthly, The golden head, which it was pretended they worſhipped, and which they were ſaid to keep at Marſeilles, ought certainly to have been produced to them; on the contrary, there was not the leaſt ſearch made after it, and we muſt acknowledge that this part of the accuſation overthrows itſelf.

Fifthly, The infamous manner of their admittance into the ſociety, with which they are reproached, could never have been paſſed into a law. It ſhews a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to ſuppoſe, that there can be any

ſocieties that ſupport themſelves by the badneſs of their morals, or who make a law of impudence and obſcenity. Every ſociety endeavours to render itſelf reſpectable to thoſe who are deſirous of becoming members of it; not that I in the leaſt doubt, that ſeveral of the young knights might have given themſelves up to theſe exceſſes, which have prevailed in all times amongſt youth; but theſe are vices which it is always better to be ignorant of than to puniſh.

Sixthly, If there were a great many evidences againſt the templars, there were likewiſe a great number of witneſſes of other countries in their favour.

Seventhly, If the parties accuſed, overcome by the ſeverity of the tortures they underwent did confeſs ſuch a multitude of crimes, their confeſſion perhaps will be found to reflect as much infamy upon their judges as upon themſelves, theſe having flattered them with hopes of pardon, to extort a confeſſion from them.

Eightly, The fifty-nine who were burnt alive took God to witneſs for their innocence, and refuſed to accept of life when it was offered them, on condition of acknowledging themſelves guilty.

Ninthly, Seventy-four templars, who were not accuſed, engaged to defend the cauſe of the order, but were not permitted to be heard.

Tenthly, When they read to the grand-maſter the confeſſion which he had made before the three cardinals, and which had been taken down in writing, that old warrior, who could neither write nor read, cried out, That he was betrayed; that they had written down a different

ferent depoſition to that which he had given; and that the cardinals who were concerned in this piece of treachery deſerved to be puniſhed as the Turks puniſhed thoſe guilty of forgery, by cleaving them aſunder from head to foot.

In the eleventh and laſt place, the grand-maſter, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, were offered their lives, if they would make a public acknowledgment of the crimes laid to their charge; and they burnt them at laſt, only becauſe that when called upon on the ſcaffold, in the preſence of the people, to acknowledge the juſtice of the accuſation againſt the order, they ſolemnly ſwore, that the order was innocent of what was alledged againſt it. This declaration incenſed the king, and drew upon them their puniſhment; and they died, crying out in vain for the vengeance of heaven to fall upon their perſecutors.

In the mean time, in conſequence of the pope's bull, and the great riches of the order, the templars were perſecuted over all Europe: only in Germany they found means to ſecure their perſons againſt the fury of their proſecutors. In Arragon they ſuſtained ſieges in ſeveral of their caſtles; at length the pope aboliſhed the order by his own authority, in a private conſiſtory held at Vienne, and thoſe might ſhare the ſpoils who were able. The kings of Caſtile and Arragon ſeized upon part of their poſſeſſions, and gave a part to the knights of Calatrava. The lands belonging to the order in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the knights hoſpitallers, then called the Knights of Rhodes, on account 1312

of their having lately taken that iſland from the Turks, and which they afterwards defended with a courage that deſerved to be rewarded at leaſt with the ſpoils of the templars.

Denis, king of Portugal, inſtituted in their room the order of the knights of Chriſt, which was at firſt intended to fight againſt the Moors; but which coming afterwards to be a badge of honour, has now ceaſed even to be an honour, by being indiſcriminately laviſhed.

Philip the Fair took two hundred thouſand livres on his own account, and his ſon, Lewis Hutin, ſixty thouſand more, out of the eſtates of the knights templars. That faithful and exact hiſtorian, Dupuis, ſays, that the pope did not forget himſelf in this partition.

We muſt now conſider another memorable event, which happened about the ſame time, and does more honour to human nature, as it gave riſe to an invincible republic.

CHAP.

CHAP. LV.

Of SWISSERLAND, and the Revolution in that Country at the beginning of the fourteenth Century.

OF all the countries in Europe, Swiſſerland was that which preſerved moſt the ſimplicity and poverty of the earlier ages. If Swiſſerland was not a free country, it would not deſerve our attention, nor indeed a place in the hiſtory of the world, but would lie undiſtinguiſhed and confounded with the many more rich and fruitful provinces which have followed the fate of thoſe kingdoms in which they are included. Thoſe only engage attention who are ſomething of themſelves. A gloomy climate, a rocky and barren ſoil, rude mountains, and frightful precipices, is all that nature has done for three parts of this country: and yet the ſovereignty of theſe rocks was diſputed with as much fury and obſtinacy, as the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, or of Aſia Minor, for which the lives of ſo many thouſands were ſacrificed.

During the eighteen years of anarchy in which Germany was without an emperor, there were warm diſputes between ſeveral lords of caſtles and prelates, about who ſhould have a ſmall portion of Swiſſerland. The ſmall towns aimed at being free, in the ſame manner as the cities of Italy, under the protection of the emperor.

When Rodolph was elected emperor, ſeveral lords of caſtles formally accuſed the cantons of Ury, Schweitz, and Underwald, of having

withdrawn themſelves from their feudal ſubjection. Rodolph, who had formerly fought againſt theſe petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens.

Albert of Auſtria, his ſon, upon his acceſſion to the empire, wanted to erect Swiſſerland into a principality for one of his children. A part of this country was his own demeſne, as Lucern, Zurich, and Glaris; tyrannical governors were ſent amongſt theſe people, who abuſed their power.

The founders of the Helvetian liberty were Meletald, Stauffacher, and Walther Furſt. The difficulty of pronouncing theſe truly reſpectable names, has been a great hindrance to their fame with poſterity. Theſe three peaſants were the firſt conſpirators; and each of them drew in three others. Theſe nine * gained over the can-
1315 tons of Schweitz, Ury, and Underwald.

It is related by all the hiſtorians of theſe times, that while this conſpiracy was in agitation, a governor of Ury called Griſler, deviſed a moſt ridiculous and deteſtable act of tyranny: he cauſed, they ſay, his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market place, and all who paſſed by were commanded, upon pain of death, to pay their reſpects to it. One of the conſpirators, whoſe name was William Tell, refuſed to pay this honour to the hat; upon which the governor ordered him to be hanged, but granted him his pardon, on condition that as he

* If each of the three firſt conſpirators brought three other men into the plot, ſurely the whole number would amount to twelve, and this was really the caſe. Our author is alſo miſtaken in his chronology, who places this tranſaction in 1315, whereas it really happened in 1308.

was

was reckoned an excellent marksman, he should, with his arrow, strike an apple from his son's head. The father trembling let fly his arrow, and had the good fortune to strike off the apple without hurting his son. Grisler perceiving a second arrow under Tell's coat, enquired of him what he intended to do with it; "It was designed for thee, replied the Swiss in a rage, if I had killed my son." It must be confessed that this story of the apple wants a little confirmation. It seems as if it was thought necessary to ornament the birth of the Helvetic liberty with a fabulous narrative. It is however agreed on all hands, that Tell, having been laid in irons for this speech, killed the governor afterwards with an arrow; which was the signal for the conspirators to rise; who being joined by the people, they demolished all the fortresses.

The emperor Albert of Austria, intending to punish these people, who had made so glorious a struggle for liberty, was prevented from carrying his designs into execution by death. Leopold, duke of Austria, the same who violated the laws of hospitality, in the person of Richard *Coeur de lion*, marched against them with an army of 20,000 men; and the people of Switzerland behaved on this occasion, like the Lacedemonians at the streights of Thermopylæ. A small body of four or five hundred men waited for the main part of the Austrian army at the pass of Morgate: but they were more fortunate than the Lacedemonians; for they put their enemies to flight, by rolling great stones down upon them. The other detachments of the army were beaten at the same time by as small a number. 1315

These

These victories being gained in the canton of Schweitz, the other two cantons gave this name to their confederacy, which now become more general, still reminds them, by the very name, of the victory to which they are indebted for their liberty.

The other cantons by degrees joined in the alliance. Berne, which is in Switzerland the same as Amsterdam is in the republic of Holland, did not join the league till 1352; and it was not till the year 1513, that the petty country of Apenzel joined the other cantons; which completed the number thirteen.

Never did any nation fight longer and harder for their liberty than the Swiss: they have purchased it by above sixty battles against the Austrians; and it is probable they will preserve it for a long time. Every country that is not of a great extent, abounds not in wealth, and is governed by mild laws, ought to be free. The change of government in Switzerland seems to have wrought a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated. The craggy rocks are covered with vines. And the wild heath, tilled by the hands of freedom, is become a fruitful plain.

Equality, the natural inheritance of mankind, still subsists as much as possible in Switzerland. In short, this country might have deserved the name of happy, had not religion afterwards divided those citizens, whom the public good at first united; and if while they sold their services to princes richer than themselves, they had taken care always to preserve that incorruptibility for which their nation is distinguished.

There

There has been in all nations a time when the minds of the people ſeem to have been carried away beyond their natural character. Such times have been leſs frequent in Swiſſerland than elſewhere. Simplicity, frugality, and moderation, the preſervers of liberty, have always been the portion of theſe people. They have never maintained armies to defend their own frontiers, or to make encroachments on their neighbours. They have no citadels, which may be turned either againſt the citizens or the enemy; nor do they groan beneath the burden of taxes. They have neither the calls of luxury, nor the troops of a maſter to provide for. Their mountains are their only ramparts; and every member of the community is a ſoldier ready armed for the defence of the country.

CHAP. LVI.

Sequel of the State of the EMPIRE, ITALY, and the PONTIFICATE in the fourteenth century.

WE are now entered upon the fourteenth century, and may have obſerved, that for the ſpace of ſix hundred years, Rome, though weak and miſerable, was always the principal object of Europe. She governed by religion, even while plunged in meanneſs, and rent in pieces by anarchy: and notwithſtanding all her humiliations and troubles, the emperors were never able to eſtabliſh the throne of the Cæſars in Rome, nor could the pontiffs render

themſelves abſolute. From the time of Frederick II. we find four emperors ſucceſſively who ſeem to have entirely forgotten Italy; namely, Conrad IV. Rodolph I. Adolphus of Naſſau, and Albert of Auſtria. Accordingly at that time all the cities of Italy recovered their natural rights, and ſet up the ſtandard of liberty. Genoa and Piſa emulated the example of the Venetians; Florence became an illuſtrious republic; and Bologna refuſed to acknowledge any longer either emperors or popes. The municipal form of government prevailed every where, and more particularly in Rome. Clement V. who was called the Gaſcoon pope, choſe rather to abandon Italy, and transfer the holy ſee to France, where he might enjoy the ſweets of thoſe liberal contributions furniſhed at that time by all the faithful, than to diſpute in vain the poſſeſſion of a few towns and caſtles in the neighbourhood of Rome. Ac-
1312 cordingly this pope fixed the court of Rome on the frontiers of France; and theſe times are ſtill called by the people of Rome the times of the captivity of Babylon. This good pontiff made a circuit to Lyons, Vienne, and Avignon, carrying about with him publickly the counteſs of Perigord, his miſtreſs; and collecting as much money as he could poſſible raiſe from the pious donations of the faithful †.

How

† This was the honeſt pontiff who introduced the cuſtom of annates. Certain Engliſh biſhops having begged his permiſſion to enjoy one year's revenue of the benefices that ſhould fall vacant in their reſpective dioceſes, Clement remembred the old maxim, Charity begins at home; and inſtead

How comes it that the Italians did not, during this conjuncture, while both the emperors and the popes were at ſuch a diſtance from them, act as the Germans had done, who, under the very eyes of their emperors, had from century to century eſtabliſhed their independence, and raiſed themſelves to an equality with the ſupreme power? There was no longer an emperor, nor a pope in Italy; what was it then that forged new chains for that delightful country? diſcord and diviſion. The Guelph and Gibelin factions †, which aroſe from the quarrels between the pontificate and the empire, ſtill ſubſiſted like a latent flame, which was receiving continual increaſe from new diſorders. Diſcord reigned every where. Italy did not form a body; Germany always did. In ſhort, the firſt enterpriſing emperor who ſhould think proper to repaſs the Alps, had it in his power to renew the rights and claims of

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ſtead of granting their requeſt, appropriated to himſelf one year's revenue for every benefice that ſhould fall vacant in that kingdom within the ſpace of two years.

† The moſt probable derivation of theſe terms is this. During the ſchiſm of the church in the twelfth century, while the emperor Conrad III. declared for Innocent II. and the cauſe of the antipope Anacletus was eſpouſed by Guelphe duke of Bavaria; the imperialiſts in the field, from reſpect to the emperor's grandſon Henry, who often commanded them in perſon, gave the word *Gibelin*, the name of a town in Germany where this young prince was educated, and of which he was remarkably fond. On the other hand, the Bavarians uſed the duke's name *Guelph*; and the Italians, without knowing the meaning of theſe barbarous terms, adopted them in the ſignification of enemies and friends to the church: thus the imperial faction was called Gibelin, and the popiſh party acquired the name of Guelphes.

the

the Charlemagnes and others. This at length happened under Henry VII. of the houſe of Luxembourg, who, in 1311, made a deſcent into Italy with an army of Germans, in order to get himſelf acknowledged. The Guelph party looked upon this journey as a new irruption of Barbarians; but the Gibelins favoured him. In his way he reduced the cities of Lombardy, which was a new conqueſt: and, at length, marched to Rome to receive the imperial crown.

Rome, who deſired neither emperor nor pope, yet was unable to ſhake off the yoke of either, ſhut her gates againſt him in vain. Nor could the Urſini, and the brother of Robert king of
1313 Naples, hinder the emperor, aſſiſted by the Colonnas, from entering the city ſword in hand. They fought a long time in the ſtreets, and a biſhop of Liege was killed by the emperor's ſide. Much blood was ſhed on account of this ceremony of the coronation, which was at length performed by the cardinals inſtead of the pope. We muſt not forget that the emperor proteſted before a notary, that the oath taken by him at his conſecration was not an oath of allegiance.

Henry, now maſter of Rome, appointed a governor of that city; and ordered that all the cities and princes of Italy ſhould pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprized the kingdom of Naples, then ſeparate from that of Sicily, and ſummoned its king to appear before him.

The Pope was lord-paramount of the kingdom of Naples; and the emperor called himſelf

ſelf lord-paramount of the pope. A ſtrange kind of right on both ſides!

The emperor was going to make good his pretentions to the kingdom of Naples by arms, when he died, as ſome ſay, by poiſon given him by a Dominican friar, in the conſecrated wine of the ſacrament. 1313

At that time the emperors communicated in both ſpecies, in quality of canons of the church of St. John Lateran. They had a right to officiate as deacons at the pope's maſs, and then the kings of France were to act as ſub-deacons.

We have no authentic proofs that Henry VII. was really poiſoned in this ſacrilegious manner. Friar Bernard Politianus of Montepulciano was the perſon accuſed of it; and thirty years afterwards the Dominican order obtained letters from John king of Bohemia, ſon to this Henry VII. in which he declares them innocent. After all, it was very unfortunate that they ſtood in need of ſuch letters.

As in the elections of popes, at that time, there was very little order obſerved; ſo were thoſe of the emperors very irregular. Mankind had not yet found out prudent laws to prevent ſchiſms.

Lewis of Bavaria, and Frederick the Handſome, duke of Auſtria, were elected at the ſame time in the midſt of the moſt fatal diſorders: and the ſword alone could decide a point which ought to have been determined by a regular diet of electors. At length a battle, in which the Auſtrian was defeated and taken priſoner, placed the crown on the head of the Bavarian. 1322

The

The reigning pope at that time was John XXII. who had been elected at Lyons in 1315. Lyons looked upon itſelf then as a free city; but its biſhop always wanted to be its maſter, and the kings of France had not yet been able to reduce the biſhop to ſubjection. Philip the Long, before he was well ſettled upon the throne of France, called an aſſembly of cardinals in this free city; and after having given them his oath that he would uſe no violence towards them, he cauſed them all to be ſhut up, and would not ſet them at liberty till they had nominated John XXII.

This pope is another ſtrong example of what great things may be done, in the church, by merit alone; for he doubtleſs muſt have had no ſmall ſhare of it, who from a cobler roſe to be the head of the chriſtian world.

He was one of thoſe pontiffs who ſurpaſs others in haughtineſs in proportion to the meanneſs of their birth. It has been already obſerved, that the papal court ſubſiſted only on the contributions of the faithful †, a fund more conſiderable than even the lands of the counteſs Matilda. When I ſpeak of the merits of John XXII. I do not include in the number that of diſintereſtedneſs; for this pontiff was more rigorous than any of his predeceſſors in exacting the dues of the church, not only from the Engliſh who had been very remiſs in the payment of the St. Peter's penny, but likewiſe from the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and the Poles, who owed tributes to the holy ſee: and he made his demands ſo frequently, and in ſuch peremptory

† See page 208.

terms,

terms, that he generally ſucceeded in drawing money from them. But he could hardly be called a pope who reſided at Lyons, and had little or no intereſt in Italy.

While he held his court at Lyons, and that Lewis of Bavaria was eſtabliſhing himſelf in Germany, Italy was loſt to them both. The Viſcontis began to eſtabliſh themſelves at Milan. The emperor Lewis, who could not humble them, pretended to protect them, and granted them the title of his lieutenants. Theſe Viſcontis, who were of the Gibelline party, having ſeized on part of the lands of the counteſs of Matilda, which had been a perpetual ſubject of diſcord, John XXII. cauſed them to be declared heretics by the inquiſition. As he reſided in France he could run no riſk in iſſuing one of thoſe bulls by which the popes beſtow and take away empires. He depoſed the emperor Lewis of Bavaria in his own imagination, depriving him, to uſe his own words, "Of all his goods moveable and immoveable."

The emperor thus depoſed, marched with all expedition into Italy, where his depoſer did not dare to face him, and arrived at Rome, which was ſtill only the temporary reſidence of the emperors, accompanied by Caſtracani †, tyrant of Lucca, Machiavel's hero. 1327

† Caſtruccio Caſtracani, the hiſtory of whoſe life is written by Machiavel, was a native of Lucca, and a famous Gibelline commander: for his ſervices againſt pope John XXII. and Robert king of Naples, he was inveſted with the dukedom of Lucca, by the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and died in that dignity at the age of forty-ſeven.

Ludo-

Ludovico Monaldeſco, a native of Orvietto, who at the age of one hundred and fifteen, wrote the memoirs of his own time, ſays, that he per-
1328 fectly well remembers the entry of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and tells us that the populace chaunted before him, "Bleſſed be God and the emperor, who have delivered us from war, famine, and the pope." This paſſage is no further deſerving of our notice, than as it comes from a man who wrote at the age of an hundred and fifteen

Lewis called a general aſſembly at Rome, reſembling the antient parliaments held by Charlemagne, and his ſons. This aſſembly or parliament was held in the very piazza of St. Peter, at which a croud of German and Italian princes, deputies of cities, biſhops, abbots, and monks aſſiſted. The emperor was ſeated on a throne, raiſed above the ſteps of the church, with the crown on his head, and the golden ſceptre in his hand. Here he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Auguſtine Friar: "Is there any perſon who will defend the cauſe of the prieſt of Cahors, who calls himſelf Pope John?" No one appearing, Lewis pronounced ſentence, by which he deprived the pope of all his benefices, and de-
1328 livered him over to the ſecular arm to be burnt as an heretic. The condemning to death in this manner a ſovereign pontiff, was the utmoſt extreme to which the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate could be carried.

Some few days afterwards the emperor with the ſame ceremony created a new pope, who was a Neapolitan cordelier; he inveſted him with

with the ring, put the cope upon him himſelf, and made him ſit down by his ſide under the canopy; but he took care not to conform to the cuſtom of kiſſing the pontiff's feet.

Among all the religious orders, of each of which I ſhall ſpeak ſeparately, the Franciſcans or Cordeliers at that time made the greateſt noiſe. Some amongſt them pretended that religious perfection conſiſted in wearing a ſharp pointed cowl, and a very cloſe habit. To this reform of dreſs they added further the opinion of general property in eating and drinking. The pope had condemned theſe propoſitions, and this occaſioned a revolt on the ſide of the reformers. At length the diſpute between them growing warm, the inquiſitors of Marſeilles cauſed four of theſe unhappy 1318 monks to be burnt.

The Franciſcan who had been nominated pope by the emperor, was one of their ſect; and this was ſufficient for John XXII. to be declared an heretic. This pope ſeems deſtined to be accuſed of hereſy: for not long after that, having ſaid in a ſermon, that the ſaints would not enjoy the beatific viſion till the final judgment; and that, in the mean time, they had an imperfect viſion: this affair of the two viſions cauſed a ſchiſm in the churches, and John at length thought proper to retract his opinion.

But all this mighty parade of Lewis of Bavaria at Rome produced no other conſequence than the efforts of the other German Cæſars. Like them he was recalled by troubles in Germany, and Italy ſlipt through his hands.

Lewis

Lewis was far from being a powerful prince; and therefore after his return to Germany could not hinder his pope from being taken prisoner by John's party, and carried to Avignon, where he was confined. In short, such was the difference between an emperor and a pope in those days, that Lewis of Bavaria, though a prudent prince, died very poor in his own country; while the pope, who lived at a distance from Rome, and drew very little assistance from Italy, left, when he died at Avig-
1344 non, treasure to the amount of twenty-five millions of gold florins, if we will give credit to Villani, a cotemporary writer: but Villani certainly exaggerates; and if we reduce this sum to one third, it will still be very great, and such as the papacy never was worth to any other person; but never did any other pope sell such a number of benefices, nor at so high a price.

He kept the reversion of all prebendaries, of most of the bishoprics, and the revenues of all vacant benefices in his own hands. By this means he acquired a leading interest in most elections, and the disposal of all benefices. Besides this, he seldom made one bishop without removing seven or eight. One promotion constantly occasioned several others, all which brought in money. The taxes for dispensations and mortal sins were first invented and carried into law in his pontificate. The book of these taxes, of which there were several impressions in the sixteenth century, brought these desperate abuses to light, which were always condemned by the church, and which she found the greatest difficulty to abolish.

The

The popes his ſucceſſors continued at Avignon till the year 1371. This city did not belong to them, but to the counts of Provence; but the popes had inſenſibly made themſelves uſufructuary maſters of it, while the counts of Provence were diſputing with the kings of Naples for the poſſeſſion of that kingdom.

The unfortunate queen Joan, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the enſuing chapter, thought herſelf happy, in 1348, to cede the town of Avignon to pope Clement VI. for eighty thouſand florins in gold, which he never payed. The papal court, which reſided there in full tranquility, ſpread riches and plenty throughout Provence and Dauphiny, and forgot the ſtormy manſions of Rome.

I meet with few times ſince Charlemagne in which the Romans did not recall their ancient notions of grandeur and liberty. Sometimes, as we have ſeen, they choſe a number of ſenators, ſometimes a ſingle one only, or elſe a patrician, or a governor, or a council, and ſometimes a tribune: and, now when they found that the pope had purchaſed Avignon, they entertained thoughts of reſtoring the antient republic. In this view they beſtowed the office of tribune on a private citizen called Nicholas Rienzi, and commonly Cola, a man who born a fanatic, was become ambitious, and conſequently capable of great things, which he undertook, and amuſed the Roman people with the moſt flattering hopes. It is of this perſon that Petrarch ſpeaks in one of his fineſt odes or canzoni, where he deſcribes Rome with diſhevelled hair and ſtreaming eyes imploring the aſſiſtance of Rienzi.

Con gli occhi di dolor bagnati e molli
Ti chier' mercè da tutti ſette i colli.

She ſupplicates thy aid with ſtreaming eyes,
And all her ſev'n hills eccho with her cries.

This tribune aſſumed the title of the *ſevere and merciful deliverer of Rome, the ſtickler for the liberties of Italy, and the lover of all mankind.* He declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But theſe convulſive ſtruggles of a long expiring liberty, proved as inefficacious as the pretenſions of the emperors on Rome. This tribunate had ſtill a ſhorter duration than even the ſenate and conſulate which had been ſet up before in vain. Rienzi, who ſet out like the Gracchi, met with the ſame end, being aſſaſſinated by the patrician faction.

Rome neceſſarily fell to decay by being deprived of the reſidence of the papal court, by the troubles in Italy, the barenneſs of her own territories, and the removal of her manufactures to Genoa, Piſa, Venice, and Florence. Her only ſupport now depended on the numerous pilgrimages made to her holy places.

The grand jubilee in particular, which was firſt inſtituted by Boniface VIII. at the beginning of every century, but afterwards changed by Clement VI. to every fiftieth year, brought a prodigious concourſe of people to Rome; inſomuch that, in the year 1350, they reckoned above two hundred thouſand pilgrims in that city. Thus Rome, deſtitute of both emperor and pope, continued the weakeſt and principal city of the Chriſtian world. 5

CHAP.

CHAP. LVII.

Of JOAN Queen of NAPLES.

WE have already obſerved that the holy ſee had made the purchaſe of Avignon, from Joan of Anjou and Provence, queen of Naples. It is ſeldom found that princes diſpoſe of their dominions, unleſs they are under great difficulties. This misfortune and death of this queen make part of the events of theſe times, and eſpecially of the great ſchiſm in the Weſt, which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to treat of.

The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ſtill continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the houſe of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert, who died in 1343, had made Naples a flouriſhing kingdom. His nephew, Lewis of Anjou, had been elected king of Hungary. The houſe of France extended its branches on all ſides: but theſe branches were not united either to the common ſtock, or with each other, and were all of them unfortunate. Robert, king of Naples, had before his deceaſe married his grand-daughter and heireſs, Joan, to Andrew, brother to the king of Hungary. This match, which ſeemed to cement the happineſs of that houſe, proved the ſource of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, young as ſhe was, inſiſted that he ſhould be conſidered only as the queen's huſband. A Franciſcan friar, called brother Robert, by whoſe advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and diſcord between this royal pair. Joan had her

court compoſed of Neapolitans; while that of Andrew conſiſted wholly of Hungarians, who were looked upon as Barbarians by the natives of the country. This proved a freſh ſubject of animoſity; and it was ſoon determined in a council of the queen's favourites, principally compoſed of Lewis prince of Tarentum, of the blood royal, who afterwards married the queen, ſome other princes of the blood, and the famous Cataneſe*, ſo remarkable for her attachment to Joan, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly ſtrangled in the city of Averſa, in his wife's anti-chamber, and in a manner before her eyes; after which his body was thrown out of the window into the ſtreet, where it remained without burial for three days. In a year after this, the queen was married to the prince of Tarentum, who was publicly accuſed of the murder of her huſband. How ſtrong a preſumption of her own guilt! but thoſe who take upon them to juſtify her, alledge that ſhe was married to four different huſbands: and that a queen who could ſo often ſubmit to the marriage yoke, cannot with juſtice be accuſed of crimes that are committed only through exceſs of love. But does love then alone inſpire ſuch horrid actions? Joan conſented to the death of her firſt huſband through weakneſs; and it was owing to a

* Philippa of Catania, originally a laundreſs, inſinuated herſelf into the favour of Joan of Naples, and became her confidante and counſellor. She is ſaid to have fomented this queen's averſion to her huſband, Andrew king of Hungary, and was concerned in ſtrangling him at Averſa, before he had attained the nineteenth year of his age. She was afterwards convicted of this horrible crime, and put to death by the moſt excruciating tortures.

mere

more pardonable kind of weakneſs, and more common to her ſex, that ſhe had three huſbands afterwards: ſhe was incapable of managing the reins of government alone.

Lewis of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of his brother on her and her accomplices. Accordingly he ſet out for Naples, by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he accuſed Joan publicly before the tribune Cola Rienzi, who, during the exiſtence of his ridiculous and tranſitory power, beheld ſeveral kings appealing to his tribunal, as they did in the time of the old republic. Rienzi however declined giving his deciſion, by which alone he gave an example of his prudence.

In the mean time Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying with him a black ſtandard, on which was painted the king's murder. He ordered Charles of Durazzo, a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the murder, to be beheaded, and purſued queen Joan, 1347 who with her new conſort fled before him into her territories of Provence. One very extraordinary circumſtance in this affair is, that ambition had no part in the revenge taken for Andrew's murder. Lewis might have made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Naples, but he did not do it. Examples of this kind are rarely to be met with. He was a prince of the moſt rigid virtue, on which account he was afterwards choſen king of Poland. We ſhall ſpeak more particularly of him when we come to treat of the kingdom of Hungary.

Joan, who before ſhe had attained the age of twenty, had plunged herſelf in guilt, and ſuffered the puniſhment due to a crime that drew as many miſeries upon her ſubjects as upon herſelf, abandoned at once by the people of Naples and Provence, went to ſeek pope Clement VI. in Avignon, a city of which ſhe was ſovereign, and which ſhe ſold to that pontiff, together with its territories, for eighty thouſand florins in gold, which ſhe never received.
1348 While ſhe was negociating this affair, ſhe appeared before the conſiſtory, where ſhe pleaded her cauſe in perſon, and was by the general voice declared innocent. Clement VI. in order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, ſtipulated for Joan, that ſhe ſhould pay him three hundred thouſand florins; but Lewis returned for anſwer, that he was not come thither to ſell his brother's blood, but to revenge it; which as he had partly effected, he ſhould go away ſatisfied. The ſpirit of knight-errantry, ſo prevalent in thoſe times, had not produced a more ſtriking inſtance of firmneſs and generoſity.

The queen, who had been driven from her kingdom by herbrother-in-law, and reſtored by the mediation of the pope, loſt her ſecond huſband, and for ſome years ſwayed the ſceptre alone. She then married a prince of Arragon, who died ſoon after their nuptials: at length,
1376 when ſhe was near forty-ſix years old, ſhe eſpouſed a younger ſon of the houſe of Brunſwick, whoſe name was Otho. This was rather chuſing a huſband for her pleaſure, than a prince capable of protecting her. The natural heir to her kingdom was Charles Durazzo,

razzo, her couſin, the only remaining deſcendant of the houſe of Anjou, in Naples. Theſe princes took their name from the city of Durazzo, which had been conquered by their family from the Greeks, and afterwards taken from them by the Venetians. This Durazzo ſhe had acknowledged as her heir; and had even gone ſo far as to adopt him. This adoption, and the great ſchiſm which happened in the Weſt, haſtened the unfortunate end of this princeſs.

The bloody conſequences of this ſchiſm, (of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully hereafter,) began already to break out. Brigano, who took the name of Urban VI. and the count of Geneva, who aſſumed the title of Clement VII. diſputed the triple crown with the utmoſt fury; and Europe was divided between them. Queen Joan ſided with Clement, who then reſided at Avignon: and Durazzo, who thought it too long to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, joined himſelf to Brigano, or Urban VI.

This pope crowned Durazzo king of Naples, in Rome, on condition that he ſhould beſtow the principality of Capua on his nephew Brigano; he excommunicated and depoſed queen Joan: and the more effectually to ſecure the principality of Capua in his family, he beſtowed all the church benefices on the chief Neapolitan families. 1380

His holineſs then began his march with Durazzo towards Naples. The church plate was employed in raiſing an army; while the queen, who could not procure ſuccours either from pope Clement, in whoſe favour ſhe had declared,

nor from the prince ſhe had choſen for her huſband, ſaw herſelf almoſt deſtitute of troops. In this ſituation ſhe invites to her aſſiſtance a brother of Charles V. king of France, who was alſo of the family of Anjou, whom ſhe adopts in the room of the ungrateful Durazzo.

Lewis of Anjou, which was the name of this new heir of the queen of Naples, arrived too late to defend his benefactreſs, or diſpute the kingdom ſhe had conferred on him.

This choice of the queen's alienated the minds of the people more than ever: they were naturally averſe to the introduction of new foreigners. The pope and Durazzo now drew near: Otho of Brunſwick, in this extremity, haſtily aſſembles a few troops, is defeated, and taken priſoner.

Durazzo now made his entry into Naples: ſix galleys which the queen had ſent for from her county of Provence, and which came to an anchor under the *Caſtello del Ovo*, proved an uſeleſs ſuccour. All reſiſtance was now too late, and flight alone appeared practicable: but even in this ſhe failed, and fell into the uſurper's hands, who, to give ſome colour to his barbarity, declared himſelf the avenger of Andrew's murder. Upon this occaſion he conſulted Lewis, king of Hungary, who ſtill perſiſting in his inflexibility, ſent him word, that he muſt by all means make the queen ſuffer the ſame death as ſhe had inflicted on her huſband Andrew.

1382 Upon which Durazo ordered her to be ſtifled between two matreſſes ‡. Thus we

‡ The unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, has been often compared to this princeſs, whom it muſt be owned

we every where ſee one crime puniſhed by another.

Poſterity, always juſt, as beholding without prepoſſeſſion, has commiſerated the fate of this princeſs, as thinking the murder of her firſt huſband to have proceeded rather from her weakneſs than the badneſs of her heart; ſeeing ſhe was barely eighteen years of age when ſhe gave her aſſent to that cruel deed; and that from that time ſhe was never accuſed of debauchery, cruelty, or injuſtice. But her people deſerve the moſt to be pitied, who were the victims of all theſe troubles. Lewis, duke of Anjou, after exhauſting the treaſures of his brother Charles V. of France, and impoveriſhing that kingdom by his vain attempts to revenge the death of queen Joan, and to recover the inheritance ſhe had left him, died ſoon after in Apulia, without having gained either ſucceſs or glory, and deſtitute of friends and money.

The kingdom of Naples, which under king Robert had begun to emerge from its ſtate of barbariſm, was plunged back again into it by all theſe misfortunes, which were ſtill more augmented by the ſchiſm in the Weſt, which was afterwards extinguiſhed by the emperor Sigiſmund. Let us now take a view of the form which the empire put on about this time.

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owned ſhe nearly reſembled in character, circumſtances, and cataſtrophe. Joan was celebrated by Petrarch and Boccace.

CHAP. LVIII.

Of the Emperor CHARLES IV. and of the Return of the Holy See from AVIGNON to ROME.

THE empire of Germany (for in the confuſion and troubles which diſtinguiſhed the latter end of Lewis of Bavaria's reign, there was no longer a Roman empire) at length aſſumed a more ſettled form of government, under Charles IV. of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and grandſon to Henry VII. who
1356 publiſhed at Nuremberg the famous conſtitution known by the name of the Golden Bull, from a golden ſeal affixed to it, which in vulgar Latin was called *bulla*. This may ſufficiently explain to us the reaſon of the popes edicts being called bulls. The ſtile of this charter partakes ſtrongly of the ſpirit of the times. It begins by an apoſtrophe to Satan, anger, pride, and luxury. It ſays, that it is neceſſary the number of the electors ſhould be ſeven, in order to oppoſe the ſeven mortal ſins. It ſpeaks of the fall of the angels, of a heavenly paradiſe, of Pompey, and of Cæſar; and aſſerts, that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity.

This famous law of the empire was made in the preſence, and with the conſent of all the princes, biſhops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities, who then, for the firſt time, aſſiſted at the aſſemblies of theſe Teutonic nations. Theſe privileges of the towns, which are the natural

natural effects of liberty, began firſt to be revived in Italy, afterwards in England, then in France, and laſt of all they found admittance into Germany.

Every one knows, that the number of the electors was fixed to ſeven. The archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, who had long been in poſſeſſion of the right of electing emperors, would not ſuffer other biſhops, though equal in power to themſelves, to partake with them in this honour. But how happened it that the dutchy of Bavaria was not ranked among the electorates? And why ſhould Bohemia, which was originally a diſtinct ſtate from Germany, and which by the golden bull was excluded from deliberations of the empire, yet continue to have a right of ſuffrage in the election? The reaſon is evidently this, Charles IV. was king of Bohemia, and Lewis of Bavaria had been his enemy.

But the imperial dignity, which at that time conferred no real power of itſelf, never received more of that luſtre which dazzles the eyes of the people, than on this occaſion. The three eccleſiaſtical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared there with the ſeals of the empire: Mentz carried thoſe of Germany, Cologne thoſe of Italy, and Triers thoſe of Gaul, and yet the empire had nothing in Gaul, but the empty homage of the remains of the kingdom of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné, which which were ſoon after ſwallowed up in the vaſt kingdom of France. Savoy, which then belonged to the houſe of Maurienne, was a fief of the empire, and Franche-Comté was under its protection, but independent.

We have already ſeen what the emperor's poſſeſſions in Italy were; in Germany his ſovereignty was confined to his hereditary dominions, and yet he ſpeaks in his bull like a deſpotic king; he does every thing there "Of his certain knowledge, and by the fullneſs of his power;" terms inconſiſtent with the Germanic liberty, and which are no longer ſuffered in the imperial diets, where the emperor expreſſes himſelf thus; "We have agreed with the ſtates, and the ſtates with us."

To conceive ſome idea of the pomp and magnificence with which this ceremony of the golden bull was accompanied, it will be ſufficient to be informed that the duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, the emperor's nephew, preſented him with his drink; the duke of Saxony, as grand marſhal, appeared with a ſilver meaſure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburgh held the water for the emperor and empreſs to waſh; and the count Palatine placed the gold diſhes on the table, in preſence of all the great officers of the empire.

Charles IV. appeared, on this occaſion, the king of kings: and Conſtantine, the vaineſt of all the Roman emperors, never diſplayed a more dazzling outſide of pomp and ſplendor. And yet Charles, with all this affectation of the Roman emperor, had engaged himſelf by oath to pope Clement VI. before his election, that whenever he went to Rome to be crowned, he would not lye a ſingle night in the city; and would never again return to Italy without the holy father's permiſſion. And there is yet to be ſeen a letter written by him to cardinal Colombierus, dean of the ſacred college,

1346

college, dated in the year 1355, in which he calls that dean "Your Majeſty."

He alſo left the houſe of Viſconti in the quiet poſſeſſion of Milan and Lombardy, which they had uſurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, which had formerly been the miſtreſs of Venice, but was now become ſubject to her; as likewiſe Vicenza and Verona.

The electors, whoſe rights had been ſettled by the golden bull of Charles IV. ſoon put them in force againſt his own ſon, the emperor Wenceſlaus, king of Bohemia.

France and Germany were afflicted both at the ſame time, with a moſt extraordinary ſcourge. The emperor and the French king loſt the uſe of their reaſon almoſt at the ſame time. On the one hand, Charles VI. by the diſorder of his organs, occaſioned that of his kingdom; and the emperor Winceſlaus ſo ſtupified himſelf in gluttony and debauch, that he left the empire in a ſtate of anarchy. Charles VI. continued on the throne while his relations ruined France under his name. But in Bohemia, the barons confined Wenceſlaus, who one day made his eſcape quite naked out of priſon; and the electors of Germany, by a public ſentence, juridically depoſed him. The ſentence ſays only that he is depoſed, for being "negligent, idle, "extravagant, and unworthy of reigning."

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It is ſaid that when he received notice of his depoſition, he wrote to the imperial cities of Germany, that he required no other marks of their fidelity than that they would ſend him ſome butts of their beſt wine.

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The deplorable ſituation of Germany ſeemed to leave an open field for the popes to ſtir in Italy; but the republics and principalities which were raiſed during the late commotions had had time to ſettle themſelves. From the time of Clement V. Rome had been a ſtranger to popes, at length Gregory XI. who was born in the Limouſin, and did not underſtand one word of Italian, removed the papal ſee to Rome.

1376 This pope had high diſputes with the republic of Florence, which was then eſtabliſhing its power in Italy, and had entered into an alliance with Bologna. Gregory, who was by the antient donation of Matilda, the immediate lord of this laſt city, did not confine his revenge to eccleſiaſtical cenſures, but drained his treaſury to pay the *Condottieri*, who at that time furniſhed troops to any one who would purchaſe them. The Florentines were for accommodating matters, and gaining the pope over to their intereſt. In this view they thought it would be of advantage to them for the pope to reſide at Rome: they were therefore, if poſſible, to perſuade Gregory to quit Avignon.

It is almoſt inconceivable that in times when men's underſtandings were ſo enlightened in regard to their true intereſts, they ſhould have made uſe of means to gain their purpoſe that would appear ſo highly ridiculous in the preſent age. They employed St. Catherine of Sienna in this negotiation; a woman who not only pretended to revelations, but even pretended to have been ſolemnly eſpouſed to Jeſus Chriſt, and to have received a ring and a diamond from him

him at their nuptials. Peter of Capua, who was her confeſſor, and has written her life, pretends to have been eye-witneſs to moſt of theſe miracles. "I was witneſs, ſays he, to her being transformed one day into the figure of a man with a little beard upon his chin; and this figure into which ſhe was ſuddenly changed, was exactly that of Jeſus Chriſt." Such was the ambaſſadreſs whom the Florentines ſent to the pope: and they had likewiſe recourſe to the revelations of St. Bridget †, who was born in Sweden, but had ſettled in Rome, and to whom an angel dictated ſeveral letters which ſhe was to write to the pope. All the popes have not been men of genius: and Gregory, whether he was a ſimple man, and that they worked upon him by ſprings proportioned to his intellects; or whether he acted from a principle of policy, or through weakneſs, he complied with their deſires; and the papal reſidence was transferred from Avignon to Rome, after an abſence of ſeventy-two years; but it was only to plunge Europe into new diſorders.

† This was no leſs than the princeſs of Nericia, not only a ſaint herſelf but the mother of ſeven children, all of whom were deemed beatified. She founded the religious order called Saint Salvator, or Saviour, the rules of which, comprehended in thirty-one chapters, were, if we may believe Matthew de Suecia, canon of Lincoping, dictated by the mouth of Jeſus Chriſt to his devout ſpouſe St. Bridget. She alſo wrote a book of revelations, which had like to have been condemned by the council of Baſil.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIX.

Of the GREAT SCHISM of the WEST.

THE patrimony of St. Peter in Tuſcany, the Campagna di Roma, the country of Viterbo and Orvietto, Sabino, the dutchy of Spoletto, Benevento, and a ſmall part of the marche of Ancona, were all that the ſee of Rome poſſeſſed at this time: all the countries afterwards annexed to its demeſne belonged to lords who were vicars of the holy ſee, or of the empire. Since the year 1138, the cardinals had uſurped the privilege of excluding the people and clergy from the election of pontiffs; and about the year 1216, they had made a law, that two thirds of the votes were neceſſary for a canonical election. At the time I am ſpeaking of, there were only ſixteen cardinals in Rome; eleven French, one Spaniſh, and four Italians. The Romans, notwithſtanding their paſſion for liberty, and their hatred to their maſters, were deſirous of having a pope who would reſide in Rome, becauſe they hated the French and Germans ſtill more than they did the popes, and becauſe the preſence of the pontiff always drew riches to the city. The people, in this mood, threatened to deſtroy the cardinals, if they gave them a foreigner for pope. Theſe menaces had ſuch an effect on the cardinal-electors, that they choſe Prignano biſhop of Bari, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Urban. This was a moroſe and paſſionate man, conſequently very unfit for ſuch a dignity; and no ſooner was he inſtalled, than he declared in full

1378

full conſiſtory, that he would puniſh the kings of France and England, Charles the Wiſe, and Edward III. who, he ſaid, were diſturbers of all chriſtendom by their quarrels. Cardinal de la Grange, a man of as violent a temper as the pope himſelf, ſhaking his fiſt at him, told him *he lied:* theſe two words involved Europe in a confuſion, which laſted forty years.

Moſt of the cardinals, even the Italians themſelves, ſhocked at the brutal diſpoſition of a perſon ſo unfit for governing, withdrew into the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the election of a pope made by violence, to be, *ipſo facto*, null and void; and proceeded unanimouſly to the election of a new pontiff. On this occaſion, the French cardinals had the uncommon ſatisfaction of outwitting their Italian brethren. They promiſed the tiara to each Italian in particular, and, after all elected Robert ſon to Amadeus count of Geneva, who, at his promotion, took the name of Clement VII.

Upon this Europe became divided. The emperor Charles IV. England, Flanders, and Hungary acknowledged Urban, who was alſo obeyed in Rome and Italy. France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine, declared for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors all wrote; and the univerſities iſſued out decrees. The two popes treated each other as Antichriſts and uſurpers, and proceeded to mutual excommunication. But what rendered this diſpute truly horrible was, that they fought with the complicated fury of a civil and a religious war. A body of troops which Clement's nephew had raiſed in Gaſcony and Brittany, marched into Italy, ſur- 1379

priſed

priſed the city of Rome, and in the firſt tranſports of their fury, put every one they met with, to the ſword. But the people of Rome recovering from their ſurpriſe, quickly rallied, and turning upon them, killed every man found within the walls; after which they murdered every French prieſt they could meet with. Soon after this, another army of pope Clement's, which had been raiſed in the kingdom of Naples, appeared within a few miles of Rome, and offered battle to Urban's forces.

Each of theſe armies carried the keys of St. Peter in their enſigns. Clement's troops were defeated; but the quarrel did not end here, this diſpute not being confined wholly to the intereſts of the two pontiffs. Urban ſeeing himſelf victorious, was reſolved to beſtow the kingdom of Naples on his nephew; and for that purpoſe, depoſed queen Joan, the protectreſs of his rival Clement, who had long reigned in Naples with various ſucceſs, and a ſullied reputation.

The preceding chapter has ſhewn us this princeſs murdered by her couſin Charles of Durazzo, with whom pope Urban now wanted to divide the kingdom of Naples. But this uſurper, when in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, was far from keeping his promiſe to a pope, who had it not in his power to oblige him to do it.

Urban, who had more warmth than policy, had the imprudence to pay a viſit to his vaſſal, inferior as he was in ſtrength, and attended but with a ſlender retinue. The antient ceremonial obliged the king to kiſs the pope's feet, and hold his horſe by the bridle. Durazzo conformed to only one of theſe ceremonies; he

he took hold of the bridle, but it was to conduct the pope to priſon. Urban was detained for ſome time in confinement, continually negotiating with his vaſſal, who treated him ſometimes with reſpect, and at others with contempt. The pope at length found means to eſcape from his confinement, and retired to the little town of Nocera; there he aſſembled the ſcattered remains of his court. His cardinals and ſome of the biſhops were ſo tired with his moroſe temper, and ſtill more with his misfortunes, that they concerted meaſures at Nocera for quitting him, in order to remove to Rome, and there make choice of a perſon more worthy of bearing the pontifical dignity. Urban, having had notice of their deſign, cauſed them all to be put to the torture in his preſence. Being ſoon obliged to fly from Naples, he retired to the city of Genoa, who ſent ſome galleys to eſcort him. He dragged along with him thoſe poor cardinals and biſhops in that maimed condition, and bound in chains. One of the biſhops, half dead with the tortures he had undergone, not being able to get on ſhore ſo ſoon as the pope choſe he ſhould; that cruel pontiff ordered him to be murdered by the way. As ſoon as he arrived at Genoa, he got rid of thoſe cardinals, his priſoners, by different kinds of puniſhments. We have heard of Caligulas and Neros, who were guilty of crimes like theſe, but they met with the puniſhments they deſerved, and Urban died peaceably at Rome. His creature and perſecutor, Charles Durazzo, was more unfortunate; for, having made an expedition into Hungary, with 1389.

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a deſign to ſeize a crown that did not belong to him, he was there murdered.

The death of pope Urban ought in all appearance to have put an end to the civil war; but the Romans were far from acknowledging Clement. Thus the ſchiſm was kept up on both ſides. The Urbaniſts choſe Perin Tomaſel, and he dying, they pitched upon cardinal Meliorati. The Clementins choſe Peter of Arragon to ſucceed Clement, who died in 1390. Never had any pope leſs authority in Rome than Meliorati; and Peter Luna in a ſhort time was only the ſhadow of a pope at Avignon. The Romans, who ſtill aimed at eſtabliſhing the municipal form of government, expelled Meliorati, after a great deal of bloodſhed, though they ſtill acknowledged him as pope; and the French, who had acknowledged Peter Luna, beſieged him in his city of
1403 Avignon, where they afterwards detained him priſoner.

The aſſembly of the ſtates of France formed ſo prudent a reſolution during theſe times of trouble and confuſion, that I am ſurpriſed it was not followed by other nations. They acknowledged neither of the popes, but each dioceſe was governed by its proper biſhop; they remitted no annates, and owned no reſervations nor exemptions; ſo that Rome had reaſon to fear leſt that adminiſtration which laſted ſome years, ſhould have continued for ever.

Luna, previous to his election, had promiſed to reſign his dignity, if neceſſary for the ſake of peace, but did not keep his word. A noble Venetian, named Corario, whom they elected at Rome, took the ſame oath, and kept it no better.

better. The cardinals on both ſides being at length heartily tired of the general, as well as private quarrels with which the diſpute about the triple crown was attended, agreed to call a general council at Piſa. Accordingly they met, and twenty-four cardinals, twenty-ſix archbiſhops, a hundred and ninety-two biſhops, two hundred and eighty-nine abbots, deputies from all the univerſities, as alſo of the chapters of one hundred and two metropolitan churches, together with three hundred doctors of divinity, the grand-maſter of Malta, and the ambaſſadors of all the Chriſtian princes were preſent at this aſſembly. Here they made a new pope, named Peter Philargi, who took 1409 the name of Alexander V. But the fruit of this great council was, that three popes, or rather antipopes, ſtarted up inſtead of two. The emperor Rodolph refuſed to acknowledge this council; ſo that the confuſion was greater than ever.

We cannot forbear lamenting the hard fate of Rome, who had a biſhop and a prince impoſed upon her againſt her will; and a body of French troops now came, under the command of Tanegui du Chatel, to compel her to receive a third pope. Corario the Venetian transferred his reſidence to Gaieta, where he put himſelf under the protection of Charles Durazzo, whom we call Launcelot, and who then reigned in Naples; and Peter Luna removed his ſee to Perpignan. Rome was ſacked, but to little purpoſe for the third pope, who died by the way; and from the polities which prevailed at that time, every body believed him poiſoned.

The cardinals of the council of Piſa, who

had elected him, being maſters of Rome, they choſe in his place Balthazar Cozza, a Neapolitan. This Balthazar was a military man; he had formerly been a Corſair, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the troubles which ſtill continued to ſubſiſt between Charles Durazzo and the houſe of Anjou: afterwards, being made legate in Germany, he grew rich by ſelling indulgencies, and bought a cardinal's hat, for which he paid a high price; nor did he purchaſe at a cheaper rate the favours of his miſtreſs, Catharine, whom he had taken away from her huſband. Perhaps ſuch a pope was the fitteſt for Rome in her preſent ſituation, when ſhe ſtood more in need of a ſoldier than a divine.

From the time of Urban V. the rival popes went on negotiating and excommunicating, and all their politics centered in extorting money; but this pontiff went to war. He was acknowledged by France, and the greateſt part of Europe, by the name of John XXIII. He had no occaſion to fear the pope of Perpignan; but the pope of Gaieta was ſomewhat more formidable, as being protected by the king of Naples. John however collects a body of troops, publiſhes a cruſade againſt Launcelot (or Charles Durazzo) king of Naples, furniſhes Lewis of Anjou with arms, and beſtows on him the inveſtiture of Naples; and a battle is ſoon after fought on the banks of the Gariliano, in which John's party proved victorious: but gratitude making no part of the virtues of a ſovereign, and reaſons of ſtate being ſtronger than any other conſiderations, the pope recalled the inveſtiture he had beſtowed on Lewis of Anjou, though his benefactor, and the revenger

of

of his cauſe, and acknowledged Launcelot as king, on condition he ſhould deliver up the Venetian Corario.

Launcelot, on his ſide, not willing to ſuffer John to grow too powerful, let pope Corario eſcape; and that pontiff, after wandering about ſome time, retired to the caſtle of Rimini, which belonged to Malateſta, one of the petty tyrants of Italy. From hence, though ſubſiſting wholly on the benevolence of this nobleman, and acknowledged only by the duke of Bavaria, he excommunicated all the princes of Europe, and talked in the ſtile of ſovereign of the world.

John XXIII. the only lawful pope, as having been elected and acknowledged by the cardinals of the council of Piſa, and ſucceeded to the pope choſen by the ſame council, was the only pope in fact: but as he had betrayed his benefactor, Lewis of Anjou, ſo Launcelot, whoſe benefactor he had been, betrayed him in like manner; and, upon finding himſelf ſucceſsful, aimed at the ſovereignty of Rome. Accordingly he ſurpriſed this unhappy city, and John had hardly time to make his eſcape. It was fortunate for him then, that there were free cities in Italy. To throw himſelf, like Corario, into the arms of one of the petty tyrants, would have been making himſelf a ſlave; he therefore put himſelf under the protection of the people of Florence, who fought at the ſame time againſt Launcelot for their liberties and for the pope.

Launcelot's army however was on the point of prevailing, and the pope ſaw himſelf ſhut up in Bologna. In this extremity he had recourſe to the emperor Sigiſmond, who was come into Italy to conclude a treaty with the Venetians. Sigiſmond,

Sigiſmond, as emperor, had an opportunity of exalting his own power by the humiliation of the pope, but, on the other hand, he was the natural enemy of Launcelot, the tyrant of Italy. John propoſes to him, to form a league and aſſemble a council, the one to expel the common enemy, and the other to confirm his own right to the pontificate. A council was in fact become neceſſary, that of Piſa having ordered one to be called at the end of three years. Accordingly Sigiſmond and John iſſued their joint proclamation, for the holding of this council in the little city of Conſtance. But Launcelot oppoſed his victorious army to theſe negociations, and nothing but an extraordinary turn of affairs could deliver the emperor and the pope from their critical ſituation: this happened by the death of Launcelot, who
1414 yielded up his breath at the age of forty, in ſudden and moſt excruciating pains, and the cuſtom of poiſoning was at that time but too frequent.

John XXIII. thus delivered from his moſt implacable enemy, and having now only the emperor and the council to fear, wanted to put off the meeting of this high aſſembly, which may not improperly be ſtiled the ſenate of Europe, and has the power of judging the ſupreme pontiffs; but the meeting was proclaimed, the emperor preſſed for its ſitting, and thoſe who had a right to aſſiſt at it were haſtening from all parts to take poſſeſſion of the auguſt title of arbitrators of Chriſtendom.

CHAP.

CHAP. LX.

The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

ON the weſtern bank of the lake of Conſtance ſtands the town of that name, ſaid to have been built by Conſtantine. This place Sigiſmond pitched upon as the theatre where this great ſcene was to be acted. Never had there been a more numerous convocation than that of Piſa: it was however exceeded by this of Conſtance.

Beſides the crowd of prelates and doctors who aſſiſted at this council, there were twenty-eight great vaſſals of the empire preſent, and the emperor himſelf conſtantly attended, as did the electors of Mentz, Saxony, the Palatine, and Brandenburg, with the dukes of Auſtria and Bavaria, and twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors from the ſeveral courts of Europe, and every one of theſe vied with the other in luxury and magnificence; as appears by the number of goldſmiths, amounting to fifty, who, with all their workmen, came to ſettle in Conſtance during the ſitting of the council.

There were likewiſe five hundred players on inſtruments called in thoſe times minſtrels; and ſeven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magiſtracy. They were obliged to build a number of wooden huts to lodge all the miniſters to luxury and incontinence; which theſe lords, rather than fathers, of the council brought in their train. No one was aſhamed of theſe practices, as they were now as publicly authorized in every ſtate, as

they had formerly been with moſt of the antient nations. On this occaſion the church of France allowed every archbiſhop it ſent to the council ten franks a day (which is equivalent to fifty livres of our preſent currency,) eight to a biſhop, five to an abbot, and three to a doctor.

Before I proceed to take a view of what paſſed in this aſſembly of the Chriſtian ſtates, I judge it neceſſary to make a ſhort recapitulation of the principal ſovereigns who reigned at that time in Europe, with the ſtate and condition of their reſpective dominions.

Sigiſmond joined to the imperial dignity the crown of Hungary. He had been unſucceſsful againſt Bajazet the famous ſultan of the
1393 Turks; ſo that Hungary being drained, and Germany divided, they were both threatened with the Mahometan yoke. He had been ſtill worſe uſed by his own ſubjects than by the Turks. The Hungarians had impriſoned him, and offered his crown to Launcelot, king of Naples; but having eſcaped
1410 from his confinement, he retrieved his affairs in Hungary, and was afterwards choſen head of the empire.

In France the unhappy Charles VI. who had been ſeized with a frenzy, enjoyed only the name of king; and his relations, employed in diſmembering the kingdom to ſerve their own private purpoſes, were very little attentive to what paſſed at the council: it was however their intereſt that the emperor ſhould not appear to be the maſter of Europe.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, who governed the kingdom of Arragon, ſupported the intereſts of his pope, Peter Luna.

John II. king of Caſtile, had no influence on the affairs of Europe; but he ſtill eſpouſed Luna's claim, and was maſter of Navarre.

Henry V. king of England, being taken up, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, with the conqueſt of France, wiſhed to ſee the pontifical power ſo humbled and reduced, that it might never again be able to impoſe a tribute on England, nor interfere with the rights and privileges of crowned heads.

Rome, who had been delivered from the French troops, but ſtill ſaw them in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and was obliged to ſubmit to John XXIII. hated her pope, and feared the emperor.

The cities of Italy were ſo divided that they were hardly of any weight in the ballance: and Venice, who aſpired at the ſovereignty of Italy, took advantages of the troubles of that country and of thoſe of the church.

The duke of Bavaria, that he might act ſome part on this grand theatre, protected Pope Corrario, who had taken refuge in the caſtle of Rimini; and Frederick, duke of Auſtria, who was ſecretly an enemy to the emperor, thought only how to fruſtrate his deſigns.

Sigiſmond made himſelf maſter of the council, by placing ſoldiers round the city of Conſtance, under the ſpecious pretext of providing for the ſafety of the fathers.

It would have been much better for John XXIII. to have returned to Rome, where he could have been maſter, than to have put him-

ſelf in the power of an emperor who was able to ruin him: he entered into a confederacy with the duke of Auſtria, the archbiſhop of Mentz, and the duke of Burgundy, which compleately ruined him. The emperor from that inſtant became his enemy; and inſiſted, notwithſtanding his being a lawful pope, that he ſhould lay down the tiara as well as
1415 Luna and Corrario. This he ſolemnly promiſed to do, and repented his promiſe the moment after; for he now found himſelf a priſoner in the midſt of that very council where he ſate as preſident. He had now no reſource left but to make his eſcape; but the emperor cauſed him to be narrowly watched. The duke of Auſtria, who was deſirous to favour the pope's flight, could not think of any better way to effect it than by giving the council the diverſion of a tournament. In the midſt of the hurry and confuſion uſual on theſe occaſions, the pope made his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a poſtillion; and the duke of Auſtria ſet out immediately after him. They both retired into a part of Swiſſerland which ſtill belonged to the houſe of Auſtria. The duke of Burgundy was likewiſe ready to protect the pope. This duke was very powerful, both on account of his great poſſeſſions, and the authority he had in France. Thus a new ſchiſm was on the point of being kindled. The heads of religious orders who were in the pope's intereſt, were already retiring from Conſtance, and the council by this turn of affairs might have become an aſſembly of rebels. Sigiſmond, who had been unfortunate on ſo many occaſions, proved ſucceſsful in this. He had, as we have already obſerved,

obſerved, a body of troops at hand; with theſe he made himſelf maſter of all the duke of Auſtria's territories in Alſace, Tyrol, and Swiſſerland. This brought the duke back to the council, where he aſked pardon on his knees of the emperor, and promiſed in the moſt ſolemn mannner, never for the future to undertake any thing contrary to his will; and reſigned all his dominions to him, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper, in caſe of infidelity. The emperor upon this gave the duke his hand, and pardoned him, on condition he would deliver up the perſon of the pope.

The fugitive pontiff is accordingly ſeized at Fribourg, and conveyed to a neighbouring caſtle. In the mean time the council proceeded to his trial.

He was charged with having ſold benefices and relicks; with poiſoning the pope his predeceſſor; with having murdered a number of innocent perſons: in ſhort, he was accuſed of the moſt impious licentiouſneſs, and of the higheſt exceſs of debauchery, even of ſodomy and blaſphemy: they however ſuppreſſed fifty-five articles of the verbal proceſs, which they thought reflected too great an infamy on the pontifical character. At length, the ſentence of his depoſition was read in the preſence of the emperor. This ſentence imported, that the council reſerved to itſelf the power of puniſhing the pope for his crimes, according to juſtice or mercy. 29th May 1415

John XXIII. who had formerly given ſuch proofs of courage both by ſea and land, was all reſignation when they came to read his ſentence to him in priſon. The emperor kept him pri-

ſoner three years at Manheim, where he treated him with ſuch ſeverity, that the public began to compaſſionate him more for his ſufferings, than it had even hated him for his crimes.

The council having thus depoſed the true pope, wanted the renunciations of thoſe who pretended to the pontificate; Corrario ſent them his, but the proud Spaniard Luna would never yield. The council found no difficulty in depoſing him; but it was an affair of greater importance to fix upon the choice of one to ſucceed him. The cardinals claimed the right of election as immediately veſted in themſelves; and the council, as repreſentatives of the whole Chriſtian church, pretended likewiſe to the ſame right. The preſent queſtion was about giving a head to the church, and a ſovereign to Rome. It was but juſt that the cardinals, who conſtituted the privy council of this ſovereign, and the fathers of the general council, who acted in conjunction with them as repreſentatives of the church, ſhould with them enjoy an equal right of ſuffrage. Thirty deputies of the
1417 council, joined with the cardinals in unanimouſly electing Otho Colonna of that ſame family who had been excommunicated by pope Boniface VIII. to the fifth generation.

This pope, who after his election changed his illuſtrious name for that of Martin, poſſeſſed all the qualities of a prince, with the virtues of a biſhop.

Never had the inauguration of a pontiff been attended with greater pomp. He went in proceſſion to the church, mounted on a white palfrey; the emperor and the count palatine on foot,

foot, leading it by the reins, a numerous croud of princes, and all the members of the council closed the train. When he arrived in the church, the triple crown was put on his head, which the popes had worn for upwards of two centuries.

The fathers of this council did not originally meet about the deposing a pope; their principal view seemed to be the reformation of the church, at least this was the chief design of Gerson and the deputies of the university of Paris.

There had been great complaints made in this council for above two years against the annates, or first fruits, the exemptions, the reservations, and the taxes imposed by the popes on the clergy, for the profit of the holy see, and against the torrent of vice with which the church was at that time overflowed. But how did this so much desired reformation end? Pope Martin declared, First, that no exemptions ought to be granted, without shewing just cause. Secondly, that an enquiry should be made into the reunited benefices. Thirdly, that the revenues of vacant churches should be disposed of according to common law. Fourthly, he made an ineffectual prohibition of simony. Fifthly, he ordered, that for the future, those who had benefices, should be distinguished by the tonsure. Sixthly, he forbade the celebrating of mass in a lay habit. These were the laws promulgated by the most solemn assembly in the universe.

Gerson even found great difficulty in getting the following propositions condemned, viz. that in some cases the assassination of a person may become a virtuous act; that it is more meritorious in a knight than in a squire, and far

more in a prince than in a knight. This doctrine of aſſaſſination had been maintained in France by one John Petit, a doctor of the univerſity of Paris, upon the occaſion of the murder of the king's own brother. The council for a long time evaded Gerſon's petition; at length it was obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the cordelier John Petit's name.

Such is the idea which I thought neceſſary to form to myſelf of the ſeveral political views of the council of Conſtance; the fires which were afterwards lighted up by a religious zeal, are of a different nature.

CHAP. LXI.

Of JOHN HUS, and of JEROM of PRAGUE.

THE portrait of general hiſtory, which has hitherto been exhibited to our view, evinces the profound ſtate of ignorance in which the weſtern world was plunged. The nations ſubject to the Roman empire, were, upon the deſolution of that empire, reduced to a ſtate of barbariſm; the other nations had always continued ſo. Reading and writing were ſciences very little known before the time of Frederick II. and the famous benefit of the clergy, by which a criminal condemned to die, obtained his pardon, if he could read, is the moſt ſtriking proof of the ſtupidity of the times. From the great ignorance of the people, the clergy and monks had,

had; by the means of a little knowledge, eſpecially in religious matters, acquired that kind of authority over their minds, which a ſuperiority of underſtanding naturally gives a maſter over his ſcholars; and from this authority they derived all their power. There was not a biſhop in Germany, or in the North, who was not a petty ſovereign; not one in Spain, France, or England, but was poſſeſſed of, or diſputed with their prince, part of the regal rights. Almoſt every abbot was become a prince; and the popes, though proſecuted on all ſides, were kings over all thoſe ſovereigns. At length, through the vices attendant upon luxury, and the diſorders which follow ambition, the greateſt part of theſe abbots and biſhops were themſelves reduced to the ſame ignorant ſtate with the laity. The univerſities of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, which had been founded in the thirteenth century, ſtill continued to cultivate that learning which the clergy, too much occupyed with their riches, had not thought worth their while to preſerve.

The doctors of theſe univerſities, who were only doctors, ſoon exclaimed againſt the ſcandalous lives of the reſt of the clergy; and the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, led them to the examination of thoſe myſteries, which for the public good ſhould never have been unveiled.

He who rent this veil with the greateſt fury, was John Wickliff, a doctor of the univerſity of Oxford. This man preached and wrote while Urban V. and Clement ravaged the church by their ſchiſm, and were publiſhing cruſades againſt each other. He pretended that what France had

dogs only for a time, in refuſing to acknowledge any pope, ſhould be carried into a perpetual law. This opinion was embraced by many of the Engliſh lords; who had for a long time beheld with indignation, their country treated as a mere province of Rome; but it was as vigorouſly oppoſed by all thoſe who had a ſhare in the emoluments ariſing from this ſubmiſſion.

Wickliff was not ſo much protected in his theology as in his politics; he revived the old opinions of Berangerius, which had been formerly proſcribed, and maintained, that nothing is to be believed, that is in itſelf contradictory or impoſſible; that no accident can ſubſiſt without a ſubject; in a word, that the bread and wine in the euchariſt, ſtill continue after conſecration to be bread and wine. He was alſo for aboliſhing confeſſion, indulgencies, and the church hierarchy. What the Vaudois only taught in ſecret, he publiſhed openly; and his doctrine was nearly the ſame as that of the proteſtants, who appeared a century after him, and of a ſect which had been eſtabliſhed a long time before.

His doctrine was condemned by the univerſity of Oxford, and by the biſhops and clergy; but this did not hinder its ſpreading. His books, though obſcure and ill written, were every where circulated, by the mere dint of curioſity, which the ſubject of the diſpute, and the boldneſs of the author, had raiſed in all degrees of people, and which received no little weight from his unſpotted manners, and purity of life. His works made their way into Bohemia, a country newly riſen out of barbariſm, and which from the groſſeſt ignorance, had arrived at

another

another ſpecies of it, at that time called erudition.

The emperor Charles IV. the lawgiver of Germany and Bohemia, had founded the univerſity at Prague, on the ſame model as that at Paris. In this univerſity, which in the beginning of the fifteenth century, contained not leſs than 20000 ſtudents, the Germans had three voices in all deliberations, and the Bohemians only one. John Hus, a native of Bohemia, who had attained to the degree of batchelor in that academy, and was confeſſor to queen Sophia of Bavaria, wife to Wenceſlaus, obtained of that princeſs, that for the future, his countrymen ſhould have three voſes, and the Germans only one. Theſe latter, incenſed at this change, withdrew from the univerſity, and became ſo many irreconcileable enemies to John Hus. At the ſame time ſome of Wickliff's works had fallen into his hands; and though he totally rejected the ſpeculative doctrine contained in them, he adopted the author's paſſionate invectives againſt the ſcandalous lives of the popes and the biſhops, againſt the excommunications thundered out with ſuch levity and fury, and in fine againſt all eccleſiaſtical power, in which neither he nor Wickliff had properly diſtinguiſhed between the rights and the uſurpations. This ſtep made him many more enemies, but at the ſame time it procured him a number of protectors, eſpecially the queen, whoſe ſpiritual director he was. He was accuſed before John XXIII. and ſummoned to appear in the year 1411, which ſummons he did not obey. In the mean.

mean time the council of Conſtance
1414 aſſembled, which was to pronounce judgment upon the popes, and the opinions of men; hither he was alſo ſummoned, the emperor himſelf writing to the court of Bohemia, to deſire he might be ſent to give an account of his doctrine.

John Hus, full of confidence, repaired to the council, from whence both he and the pope ought to have kept away. He arrived there, accompanied by ſeveral Bohemian gentlemen, and many of his diſciples, and what is moſt remarkable, he came with the emperor's ſafe-conduct, dated the 18th of October, 1414, and drawn up in the fulleſt and moſt favourable terms; but no ſooner was he arrived, than he was committed to cloſe confinement, and the council proceeded to try him at the ſame time with the pope. He like the pope made his eſcape, and like him was brought back again, and they were both confined for ſome time in the ſame priſon.

At length he appeared before the council, loaded with chains, and was examined concerning ſeveral paſſages in his writings. It is certain that any man may be ruined by wreſting the meaning of his words. What teacher, what writer is ſure of his life, if we condemn to the flames, a perſon who ſays, "That there is but one catholic church, which contains all the predeſtined in its boſom; that a reprobate is not a member of this church; that the temporal lords ought to oblige the prieſts to obſerve the law; and that a wicked pope is not a vicar of Jeſus Chriſt?"

And

And yet theſe and no other, were the propoſitions maintained by John Hus, and which he explained in ſuch a manner, as might have acquitted him, had not the council put ſuch a ſenſe upon them, as was found neceſſary to condemn him. If you do not believe the *univerſale a parte rei*, ſaid one of the fathers to him, you do not believe in the real preſence. What a method of arguing was this! And on how precarious a thing did men's lives at that time depend!

Hus had not embraced any of thoſe propoſitions of Wickliff, which now divide the proteſtants from the church of Rome *, and yet he was condemned to periſh by the flames. Upon inquiry into the cauſe of ſuch an execution, I could never find it to be any other than that ſpirit of obſtinacy, which is generally imbibed in the ſchools. The fathers of the council were determined that Hus ſhould retract his opinion, and Hus, on his ſide, perſuaded that he was in the right, would not acknowledge himſelf in an error. The emperor, moved with compaſſion, ſaid to him, "What harm is there in abjuring errors falſely attributed to you? I am ready this moment to abjure all kind of errors; does it follow from thence that I have held them?"

* Surely this muſt be a miſtake in our author. John Hus adopted the doctrines of Wickliff, who maintained that the bread and wine in the euchariſt, was not the real ſubſtance; and that the church of Rome was not ſupreme over all churches; two of the moſt eſſential articles of the proteſtant faith. The Huſſites were in particular ſo tenacious with reſpect to the cup in the communion, that cups were painted in their churches, houſes, and even on their colours; ſo as to give riſe to the following diſtich:

Tot pingis calices Boëmorum terra per urbes,
Ut credas Bacchi numina ſola coli.

Hus

Hus however remained inflexible. He demonſtrated the difference between a general abjuration of errors, and retracting an opinion as an error, and choſe rather to be burnt than acknowledge that he had been in the wrong.

The council were as obſtinate as himſelf; but his obſtinacy in ruſhing to certain death was ſomething heroic; whereas that of condemning him to the flames was an act of great cruelty. The emperor, notwithſtanding the faith of the ſafe-conduct he had granted him, ordered the elector palatine to ſee him carried to execution; and he was accordingly burnt alive, in the preſence of the elector, chaunting out hymns of praiſe to the divinity, till the flames ſtifled his voice.

Some months afterwards, the council exerciſed the ſame ſeverity againſt a diſciple and friend of John Hus, named Jerom, whom we commonly call Jerom of Prague. This man was greatly ſuperior in underſtanding and eloquence to Hus. He at firſt had ſubſcribed to the condemnation of his maſter's doctrine; but being informed with what greatneſs of ſoul Hus had encountered death, he was aſhamed to ſurvive him, and having made a public retraction, he was conſigned to the flames.

Poggio the Florentine, ſecretary to John XXIII. and one of the firſt reſtorers of letters, who was preſent at his examinations and execution, ſays, that he never heard any thing that approached ſo nearly to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the ſpeech which Jerom made to his judges. "He ſpoke, ſays he, like Socrates, and walked to the ſtake with as much

much chearfulneſs as that great philoſopher drank the cup of hemlock."

Since Poggio himſelf has made this compariſon, let it be permitted me to add, that Socrates was in fact condemned upon much the ſame account as John Hus and Jerom of Prague; that of having incurred the hatred of the ſophiſts and prieſts of his time: but how wide the difference between the manners of the Athenian ſenate and thoſe of the council of Conſtance; betweena cup of gentle poiſon, which, far from being attended with this parade of horror and infamy, ſuffers the citizen to die quietly in the midſt of his friends, and that dreadful puniſhment by fire, to which the prieſts and miniſters of mercy and peace condemned their brethren; who, though ſomewhat too obſtinate and tenacious in their opinions, were of an exemplary purity of life, and ſhewed a fortitude that has been the admiration of poſterity!

May I be permitted likewiſe to obſerve, that in the proceedings of this council, a man who had been convicted of all manner of crimes, was only diveſted of his honours, and two perſons accuſed of ſome few falſe reaſonings, were condemned to the flames!

Such was the famous council of Conſtance, which laſted from the 1ſt of November 1413, to the 20th of May 1418.

Neither the emperor, nor the fathers of the council foreſaw the conſequences of the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague. Out of their aſhes aroſe a civil war; for the Bohemians looked upon this action as an affront offered to their whole country; and imputed the

death

death of their fellow ſubjects to the revenge of the Germans who had withdrawn from the univerſity of Prague. They openly reproached the emperor with having violated the law of nations: and not long afterwards,

1419 when Sigiſmond attempted to ſucceed his brother Winceſlaus in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found, that though he was emperor and king of Hungary, the death of two private citizens barred his way to the throne of Bohemia. The avengers of John Hus amounted to the number of 40,000, and a ſet of ſavages whom the ſeverity of the council had rendered wild, and let looſe in all the fury of mad revenge.

Every prieſt they met with attoned with his blood for the cruelty of the fathers of the council of Conſtance. John, ſurnamed Ziſka, which ſignifies One-eyed, chief in barbarity and rank among theſe barbarians, defeated Sigiſmond in ſeveral battles. This fame Ziſka, having loſt his only remaining eye in the engagement, ſtill continued to march at the head of his troops, giving his orders to his generals, and aſſiſting at their victories. He commanded his ſoldiers, that after his death they ſhould make a drum of his ſkin, which they obeyed; and theſe his remains proved a long time fatal to Sigiſmond, who with difficulty could reduce Bohemia in ſixteen years, though aſſiſted with all the forces in Germany, and the terror of cruſades.

Thus he paid for having violated his ſafe-conduct, by ſixteen years of war and deſolation.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Of the STATE of EUROPE at the Time of the COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

Of ITALY.

IF we reflect upon this council, held under the emperor's eye, and in the preſence of ſo many princes and ambaſſadors, and alſo on the depoſition of the ſupreme pontiff, and on that of the emperor Winceſlaus; we ſhall ſee that the catholic nations of Europe did, in fact, form altogether an immenſe republic, the chiefs of which were the pope and the emperor; and whoſe diſunited members conſiſted of kingdoms, provinces, and free cities, under twenty different governments.

There was no one public affair in which the pope and the emperor had not ſome ſhare: and the ſeveral parts of Chriſtendom correſponded with each other even in the midſt of their diſcords. In fine, Europe was, upon the whole, much the ſame kind of ſtate with antient Greece, excepting the difference of politeneſs.

Rome and Rhodes were two cities common to all the Chriſtians of the Latin communion; and the Turkiſh ſultan was their common enemy. Theſe two chiefs of the catholic world, the emperor and the pope, had in fact only an imaginary greatneſs, and no real power. If the emperor Sigiſmond had not been poſſeſſed of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and even from theſe he drew but very inconſiderable ſupplies, the imperial dignity would have been rather

rather a burthen to him than otherwiſe. The imperial demeſnes were all of them alienated, and the princes and cities of Germany no longer able to pay their fines. The Germanic body was at that time alſo free, although not ſo well regulated as it has ſince been by the peace of Weſtphalia. The title of king of Italy was as empty as that of ſovereign of Germany; the emperor not poſſeſſing a ſingle town on the other ſide the Alps.

We ſtill meet with this queſtion to reſolve: Why did not Italy inſure to herſelf the enjoyment of her liberties, and for ever exclude foreign nations? She made continual efforts towards it, and had a right to flatter herſelf with ſucceſs. She was in a flouriſhing condition. The houſe of Savoy had already began to aggrandiſe itſelf, though it had acquired no great encreaſe of power. The ſovereigns of this country were feudatories of the empire, and counts. The emperor Sigiſmond, who had ſtill the power of beſtowing titles, made them dukes in 1416; and they are independent kings, though with the title of feudatories. The Viſconti poſſeſſed the whole Milaneſe, which became ſtill more powerful under the Sforzas.

The induſtrious Florentines had rendered themſelves a reſpectable ſtate by their freedom, their genius, and the trade they carried on; and a number of petty ſtates, even as far as the frontiers of Naples, were daily aſpiring at liberty. The ſyſtem of affairs in Italy remained upon this footing from the death of Frederick II. till the time of the popes Alexander VI. and Julius II. making a period of about 300 years. But this period was chiefly ſpent in fac-

tions.

tious jealouſies, or the mutual attempts of one town againſt another, and the uſurpation of tyrants, who made themſelves maſters of theſe towns. In ſhort they exactly reſembled antient Greece. The arts were every where cultivated, and conſpiracies every where formed: but they had not yet learnt to fight as thoſe people did at Thermopylæ and Marathon.

Look into Machiavel's hiſtory of Caſtracani, the tyrant of Lucca and Piſtoia, in the time of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and you will find that the very ſame deſigns and the ſame ſucceſſes, fortunate or unfortunate, make the hiſtory of Italy. A private family of Verona, named Scala, ſeized upon the government about the end of the thirteenth century, and kept poſſeſſion of it for near an hundred years. In the year 1330 they ſubdued Padua, Vicenza, Treviſi, Parma, Breſcia, and ſeveral other territories. But in the fifteenth century there did not remain the leaſt footſtep of their power. The Viſcontis and the Sforzas, dukes of Milan, paſſed ſomewhat later in review; and diſappeared likewiſe never to return again. Of that number of lords who divided amongſt them the territories of Romania, Umbria, and Emilia, there are at preſent but two or three families remaining, and thoſe ſubject to the pope.

If you examine the annals of the Italian cities, you will find that there was not one in which conſpiracies were not carried on with as much art as that of Catiline. It was impoſſible in thoſe petty ſtates for the diſcontented to riſe up in revolt, or defend themſelves by force of arms. In the room of theſe they had frequently recourſe to aſſaſſinations and poiſon. One

mutiny

mutiny of the people raiſed up a new prince, and another pulled him down. Thus for example, the city of Mantua paſſed ſucceſſively from the hands of one tyrant into thoſe of another, till the eſtabliſhment of the family of Gonzagues in 1328.

Venice is the only one of theſe ſtates that has conſtantly preſerved her liberty. This ſhe owes to her watry bulwarks, and the wiſe form of her government. Genoa, the rival of Venice, frequently engaged, and at length triumphed over her towards the end of the fourteenth century. But Genoa ſoon afterwards fell into decay, while Venice continued riſing till the reigns of Lewis XII. and the emperor Maximilian, when we ſhall ſee her filling all Italy with dread, and the powers of Europe with jealouſy; who all conſpire together for her deſtruction. Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was the beſt regulated, the moſt ſettled, and uniform, and had only one fundamental error, which however was not conſidered as ſuch by the ſenate; I mean the want of a counterpoiſe to the power of the nobles, and a proper encouragement for the common people. In Venice, a private citizen could never hope to riſe by his merit as in antient Rome. It makes the principal merit of the Engliſh government, ſince the houſe of commons has had a ſhare in the legiſlative power, that ſuch a counterpoiſe is provided, and the road to honour and dignity left open to all who deſerve them.

Piſa, which is at preſent only a depopulated city dependent on Tuſcany, was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a famous repub-

lic,

lic, and ſent fleets to ſea as conſiderable as thoſe of Genoa.

Parma and Placentia belonged to the Viſcontis; the popes, after being reconciled to that family, having granted them the inveſtiture, as they would not at that time aſk it of the emperor, whoſe power in Italy was daily diminiſhing. The houſe of Eſte, which had produced the counteſs Matilda ſo famous for her benefactions to the holy ſee, was poſſeſſed at that time of Ferrara and Modena; the former of which it held of the emperor Otho I. but the holy ſee ſtill aſſerted a claim to it, and ſometimes granted the inveſtiture of this as well as of ſeveral other ſtates in Romania, which furniſhed an inexhauſtible ſource of trouble and confuſion.

It happened that during the tranſmigration of the holy ſee from the banks of the Tiber to thoſe of the Rhone, there exiſted two imaginary powers in Italy, namely the emperors and the popes, from whom all the other powers received the diploma, which determined their rights or their uſurpations; and even after the holy ſee was again eſtabliſhed in Rome, it remained without any real power; and the emperors continued in a manner forgotten till the time of Maximilian. No foreign power at that time was poſſeſſed of any territories in Italy; for we cannot give that name to the houſes of Anjou and Arragon, the former of which was eſtabliſhed on the throne of Naples in 1266, and the latter in Sicily ever ſince the year 1287. Thus Italy, rich and full of flouriſhing cities, and moreover abounding with men of genius, might have put herſelf in a condition to have rejected the

the yoke of any nation whatſoever. She had even one advantage over Germany, which was, that no biſhop, except the pope, exerciſed any ſovereign authority; and that the ſeveral ſtates being governed by ſecular maſters, were conſequently much fitter for taking the field.

If Italy was troubled with thoſe diviſions, which are ſometimes the conſequences of public liberty, Germany was not in a more tranquil ſtate, while the lords were continually making pretenſions to each other's office. But as we have already obſerved, Italy never formed a body, and Germany did. The German phlegm has hitherto kept the conſtitution of the ſtate ſound and entire; whereas Italy, though as extenſive as Germany, has never been able ſo much as to form a conſtitution; and merely from the conſequences of a ſuperior underſtanding and cunning, has ſuffered itſelf to be divided into a number of weak ſtates, which have been ſubjected by foreign nations.

Naples and Sicily, which under the Norman conquerors made together a formidable power, after the Sicilian veſpers became two ſeperate ſtates, envious of each other, and continually ſtriving to injure each other. The weakneſs of Joan I. firſt ruined the kingdom of Naples and Provence, of which ſhe was likewiſe ſovereign; and the ſtill more ſcandalous failings of Joan II. compleated its deſtruction. This princeſs, who was the laſt of the race which St. Lewis's brother had tranſplanted into Italy, was, as well as her kingdom, in a very low degree of credit during her whole reign. She was ſiſter to the Launcelot who had made Rome tremble, during thoſe times of anarchy which pre-

preceded the council of Conſtance. But Joan herſelf was far from being formidable. Her amours and court intrigues proved the ſcandal and ruin of her dominions. James of Bourbon, her ſecond huſband, who had more than once experienced her infidelity, was clapt up in priſon, for attempting to complain, and thought himſelf very happy to make his eſcape, and retire to conceal his grief, or as it is called, his ſhame, in a convent of Franciſcan friars, at Beſançon.

This Joan II. proved, without her foreſeeing it, the cauſe of two great events. The firſt was the raiſing of the Sforzas to the dukedom of Milan; the other, the war carried into Italy by Charles VIII. and Lewis XII.

The advancement of the Sforzas is one of thoſe caprices of fortune, which ſhew us, that this world belongs to whoever can make themſelves maſters of it. A country fellow, called Jacomuzio, who had taken arms as a ſoldier, and changed his name to Sforza, became the queen's favourite, conſtable of Naples, and ſtandard-bearer of the church, and acquired ſuch an immenſe fortune, that he left money enough to one of his baſtards, wherewith to conquer the dutchy of Milan.

The ſecond event which proved moſt fatal to Italy and France, was brought about by adoptions. We have already ſeen that Joan I. adopted Lewis I. of the ſecond branch of the houſe of Anjou *, and brother to Charles V. king of France. Theſe adoptions, which were relicts of the old Roman laws, conferred the

* See Chap. LVII.

right

right of ſucceſſion on the perſon adopted, who, by virtue of ſuch adoption, took place of the natural heir, but not without the conſent of the barons, which in ſuch caſes, was always neceſſary. Joan II. at firſt adopted Alphonſo V. king of Arragon, ſurnamed by the Spaniards, the wiſe and the magnanimous. But no ſooner did this wiſe and magnanimous prince ſee himſelf acknowledged as heir to the queen of Naples, than he diveſted her of all authority, and even wanted to deprive her of her life. Francis Sforza, ſon to the illuſtrious peaſant Jacomuzio, firſt ſignalized himſelf in arms on this occaſion, and by delivering his father's benefactreſs, proved himſelf deſerving of the honours he afterwards arrived at. Joan, after her deliverance, adopted Lewis of Anjou, grandſon to that Lewis who had been ſo vainly adopted by Joan I. This prince dying,
1435 ſhe declared René of Anjou, his brother, her heir and ſucceſſor. This double adoption proved a double firebrand of diſcord between France and Spain; and René of Anjou, who had been called to the throne of Naples by an adoptive mother, and to that of Lorraine in right of his wife, proved equally unfortunate in both theſe kingdoms. He took the title of "king of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem, Arragon, Valencia, and Majorca, and duke of Lorraine and Bar;" and yet he was neither of theſe. The multiplicity of empty titles aſſumed without either foundation or conſequence, has thrown a confuſion into our modern hiſtories, which frequently renders them diſagreeable, and even ridiculous to the reader. In ſhort, the hiſtory of Europe is become an immenſe verbal

verbal proceſs of marriage contracts, genealogies, and diſputed letters, which make the ſubject appear both dry and obſcure, by ſuppreſſing great events, and hindering us from coming at the knowledge of the laws and manners of nations; objects far more worthy our attention.

CHAP. LXIII.

Of FRANCE and ENGLAND, in the time of PHILIP of VALOIS and EDWARD III.

ENGLAND recovered its ſtrength under Edward I. towards the end of the thirteenth century. This prince, who ſucceeded his father Henry III. was indeed obliged to give up Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine, the patrimonies of his anceſtors, but he ſtill retained the province of Guienne, and likewiſe made himſelf maſter of the principality of Wales. He knew how to reſtrain the impetuous tempers of the Engliſh, and animate them to noble purpoſes; he rendered their commerce as flouriſhing and extenſive as the nature of 128
the times would permit. The royal houſe of Scotland being extinct in 1291, he had the glory of being choſen arbitrator, by the pretenders to that crown. His firſt ſtep was to oblige the Scottiſh parliament to acknowledge that their crown was dependent on England; and afterwards he nominated Baliol king, whom he made his vaſſal. At length he took the kingdom of Scotland for himſelf, after having conquered it in ſeveral battles, but was unable to

keep poſſeſſion of it. Then began that antipathy between the natives of England and Scotland, which, notwithſtanding the union of the two crowns, is not yet entirely extinguiſhed.

Under this prince it began to be perceived that the Engliſh would not long continue tributaries to the ſee of Rome; they made uſe of various pretences to excuſe their non-payment of the taxes impoſed on them by that church, and artfully evaded an authority they durſt not yet openly attack.

In the year 1300, the Engliſh parliament began to take a new form*, nearly the ſame with that it now wears. The title of barons and peers was appropriated only to thoſe who ſate in the upper houſe, and the houſe of commons began to regulate the ſupplies. Edward reſolved to give a weight to the lower houſe, ſufficient to ballance the power of the barons; and this prince, who had ſteadineſs and dexterity ſufficient to manage, and not to fear them, formed that kind of government, which includes all the advantages of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy; but which at the ſame time has the inconveniencies of all three, and can never ſubſiſt, but under a prudent king. His ſon

* It was about the year 1264, and in the reign of Henry III. that the commons of England were firſt repreſented in parliament. The barons who were in rebellion againſt that weak prince, compelled him to ſign commiſſions, appointing in every county, certain officers or magiſtrates, called conſervators, for preſerving the privileges of the people. Writs were iſſued to theſe conſervators, commanding them to appoint four knights in every ſhire, to ſit and repreſent it in the enſuing parliament; and this is the origin of that right which the commons have to ſit in the great council of the nation.

proved

proved not to be ſuch, and England was rent in pieces.

Edward I. died as he was going to make another conqueſt of Scotland, which he had already thrice ſubdued, and which had as often rebelled again. His ſon, a youth of twenty-three years of age, though at the head of a numerous army, abandoned his father's deſigns, to devote himſelf to pleaſures; which appear more unbecoming in a king of England, than in the ſovereign of any other nation. His favourites had diſpleaſed the nation, eſpecially the queen, daughter to Philip the Fair, a wanton and imperious woman, jealous of her huſband, whom ſhe betrayed. The public adminiſtration was now a ſcene of fury, confuſion and weakneſs, and a prevailing party in the parliament cauſed a favourite of the king's, whoſe name was Gaveſton, to be beheaded. 1312
The Scotch took advantage of theſe troubles, defeated the Engliſh, and Robert Bruce being made king of Scotland, reſtored that monarchy by the weakneſs of England.

It is impoſſible to act with more imprudence, and conſequently more unfortunately, than Edward II. He ſuffered his queen Iſabella, notwithſtanding the provocation 1316
he had given her, to go to France with her ſon, who was afterwards the happy and famous Edward III.

Charles the Fair, brother of Iſabella, and at that time king of France, followed the general policy of all kings, which is to ſow diſcord among their neighbours, and encouraged his ſiſter to make war againſt her huſband.

Thus under pretence that the king of England was held in a ſhameful ſubjection, by a young favourite named Spenſer, his wife prepares to wage war againſt him. While ſhe was in France, ſhe married the young prince her ſon, to a daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, and perſuades that count to lend her troops. At length ſhe returns to England, and with an armed force joins the enemies of the king her huſband. Her gallant Mortimer attended her, and commanded her troops, while the king and his favourite Spenſer fled before them.

The queen being arrived at Briſtol, ordered this favourite's father, an old man of
1316 ninety, to be hanged, and afterwards inflicted the ſame death on the favourite himſelf, who fell into her hands at Hereford; and it is ſaid they tore from him while he hung upon the gallows, thoſe members which it was pretended he had made a criminal uſe of with his monarch.

After this, the king, abandoned by every one, and a fugitive in his own kingdom, is taken priſoner, carried up to London, inſulted by the populace, confined in the Tower, tried by the parliament, and depoſed in a ſolemn manner. His crown was then given to his ſon, a youth of fourteen years of age, and the queen is inveſted with the regency, and a council appointed to aſſiſt her. In fine, a penſion of about 60,000 livres of our preſent money was allowed the king during life.

Edward II. did not ſurvive his diſgrace above a year; at his death there were no mark of violence

violence found upon his body, but it is said that he was killed by means of a red hot iron, thruſt up his body through a pipe made of horn *. 1327

His ſon Edward III. ſoon revenged him of his perfidious wife. This young monarch was yet a minor; but being impatient to graſp the reins of government, which he thought himſelf able to manage, he one day ſeized on the perſon of his mother's gallant, Mortimer earl of March, in her own preſence. The parliament condemned this favourite, as it had done the Spenſers, without hearing him; and he died by the hands of the common hangman, not for having diſhonoured his king's bed, and for having depoſed and murdered him, but for having been guilty of extortion and miſdemeanors, crimes which miniſters of ſtate are always accuſed of. The queen-mother was confined in a caſtle, with a penſion of five hundred pounds ſterling †, where ſhe remained in ſolitude, and lamented more her misfortunes than her crimes. 1331

Edward being now maſter, and ſoon after abſolute maſter of the kingdom, began his reign by the conqueſt of Scotland; but now a new ſcene was opened in France, and all Europe ſtood in ſuſpence to ſee whether Edward would acquire this kingdom by right of blood or right of conqueſt.

* The unfortunate Edward II. was murdered in Berkely caſtle in Glouceſterſhire, by ſir John Gurney and John de Mautrevers, inſtigated by the biſhop of Hereford.

† Her allowance amounted to four thouſand pounds a year.

France, which comprehended neither Provence, Dauphiny, nor the Franche-Comté, was ſtill a formidable kingdom; but its king was not yet poſſeſſed of much power. The large demeſnes, ſuch as Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, Brittany, and Guienne, which were held as fiefs of the crown, always contributed more to the uneaſineſs than to the grandeur of the prince.

The demeſnes of Philip the Fair, with the impoſts on his immediate ſubjects, amounted to 80000 marks. When he went to war with the Flemings in 1302, and that almoſt all the vaſſals of France contributed towards the expence of that war, a tax of one fifth was laid on the revenues of all ſecular perſons, who on account of their callings were diſpenſed with attending the campaign. If the people were unhappy, the royal family was ſtill more ſo. Nothing is better known than the infamy to which the three ſons of Philip the Fair ſubjected themſelves at the ſame time, by accuſing their wives of adultery in open court, who were thereupon all three ordered into cloſe confinement. Lewis Hutin, the eldeſt of Philip's ſons, ſtrangled his wife Margaret of Bourdeaux. The gallants of thoſe princeſſes were condemned to ſuffer a new kind of puniſhment, that of being flead alive.

1316 After the death of Lewis Hutin (or Lewis X.) who, like his father, annexed Navarre to the crown of France; the public attention was wholly engroſſed by the queſtion concerning the Salic law. This king had left only one daughter, and it had never been examined in France, whether females had a right to inherit the crown. Laws are alway-

always made for the preſent occaſion. They had no knowledge at that time of the antient Salic laws; but had ſupplied the want of them by eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and theſe cuſtoms were perpetually changing in France. The parliament under Philip the Fair, had adjudged the county of Artois to a female, in prejudice to the next heir male. The ſucceſſion of Champagne had been decided ſome times in favour of the females, and at other times taken from them. Philip the Fair poſſeſſed Champagne, wholly in right of his wife, by whom the princes of the family were excluded.

Theſe examples ſhew us, that right varied with fortune, and that it was far from being a fundamental law of the ſtate, to exclude the daughter from her father's throne. To ſay, with a number of authors, "that the French crown is ſo noble that it cannot admit of women," is in my opinion a puerile aſſertion, and to ſay with Mezeray, "that the weakneſs of their ſex does not permit women to reign," is doubly unjuſt; beſides the article of this antient law, which deprives the females of all right of inheritance in Salic land, ſeems to be founded on this, that every Salic lord was obliged to appear in arms at the public aſſemblies of the nation. Now a queen is not obliged to bear arms, the nation does it for her. Hence we may fairly infer, that the Salic law, in other reſpects ſo little known, related to the other fiefs, and not to the crown; and ſo little was it eſteemed a law with reſpect to kings, that it was ranked under the head *de allodiis* or of *allodials*. Beſides, if this law was made by the ancient Salians, it muſt have been made before there were any kings of France,

and conſequently could not relate to theſe kings *.

Again, it is beyond a doubt that there were ſeveral fiefs not ſubject to this law, and by a much ſtronger reaſon might it be ſaid, that the crown ought not to be ſubject to it. Theſe arguments were for ſome time maintained by the duke of Burgundy, uncle of the princeſs, daughter to Lewis X. and by ſeveral princeſſes of the blood. Lewis Hutin had two brothers, who within a ſhort time ſucceeded one after another, the elder was Philip the Long, and the younger Charles the Fair. Charles at that time not thinking he was ſo near to the crown, oppoſed the Salic law out of jealouſy to his brother.

Philip the Long took care to have it declared at a meeting of barons, prelates, and burghers of Paris, that females ought to be excluded from the crown of France. But had the oppoſite party prevailed, they would ſoon have enacted a quite contrary fundamental law.

This Philip who is known for little elſe than having excluded the biſhops from a ſeat in parliament, died after a ſhort reign, and left only daughters behind him. The Salic law was then confirmed the ſecond time; and Charles the Fair,

* The particular expreſſion on which the French found the exclusion of Females, is in the ſixty-ſecond article of the code containing the laws of the Ripuarians and Salians. It imports, that in Salic land, no portion of the inheritance deſcends to the females, but, being acquired by the males, they only are capable of the ſucceſſion. In all probability the Salic land, to which the expreſſion alludes, was no more than certain conquered eſtates held by knight's ſervice, in contradiſtinction to other eſtates termed *allodial*, which might be acquired by deſcent, marriage, or purchaſe, without any excluſion of the female ſex.

who

who had ſo ſtrongly oppoſed it, ſucceeded to the crown without the leaſt diſpute, and excluded his brother's daughters.

Charles the Fair at his death left the ſame cauſe to be again decided. He had left his queen with child, and a regent was wanting to the kingdom. Edward III. pretended to the regency as grandſon to Philip the Fair by the mother's ſide, and Philip of Valois took poſſeſſion of it in quality of firſt prince of the blood; which was afterwards ſolemnly conferred upon him, and the queen being brought to bed of a daughter, he aſcended the throne with the general conſent of the nation. It appears then that this Salic law, by which all females were excluded from the crown, was a law of the heart, and had become a fundamental law by ancient and univerſal agreement. There are indeed no other, ſince all laws are made and abrogated by men. And can any one doubt that if ever it ſhould happen that the blood royal of France ſhould become wholly extinct, excepting in one princeſs, and ſhe worthy of reigning, that the nation might not, and ought not to confer the crown on her?

At that time Philip of Valois had the ſirname of the *Fortunate* given him by the people; he might alſo for a while have been called the *Juſt* and the *Victorious*; for the count of Flanders, who was his vaſſal, having oppreſſed his ſubjects, they revolted againſt him, upon which Philip marched to the aſſiſtance of that prince, and when he had quelled the rebellion, he adviſed him "to take care not to cauſe any more revolts by his ill conduct."

He might moreover be called the *Fortunate*, when at Amiens he received the solemn homage yielded to him by Edward III. But this homage was soon followed by a war; Edward disputing the crown with Philip, after he had acknowledged himself his vassal.

A brewer of the city of Ghent was the principal promoter of this famous war, and the person who determined Edward to take the title of king of France. This brewer, whose name was James d'Artevelt *, was one of those subjects whom princes ought either to ruin or to keep fair with. The prodigious credit he had obtained among his countrymen made him a necessary instrument to Edward; but he would not exert this credit in behalf of the English monarch, unless he would take the title of king of France, in order to make an irreconcileable breach between the two kings. Edward and the brewer signed this treaty at Ghent long before hostilities had been commenced against France.

I shall spare myself the trouble of entering into a detail of wars, which are mostly alike, and confine myself to those things which serve to characterise the manners of the times; and here I must take notice, that Edward defied Philip de Valois to single combat, which the latter refused, saying, "It was not for a sovereign prince to fight with his vassal."

In the mean time, a new event happened, which seemed again to overturn the Salic law. Brittany, a fief of the crown of France, had

* Or Jacob Van Artevelt.

been

been lately adjudged by the court of peers to Charles of Blois, who had eſpouſed the daughter of the laſt duke, and the count of Montfort, this duke's uncle, had been diſinherited. The laws and private intereſt were here in contradiction. The king of France, who, one would think, ſhould have maintained the Salic law in the count of Montfort's cauſe, ſided with Charles of Blois; and the king of England, who ought to have ſupported the right of the females in Charles of Blois, declared in favour of the count of Montfort. 1341

Upon this occaſion, the war was renewed between France and England. At firſt Montfort is ſurpriſed in the city of Nantes, and carried priſoner to Paris, where he was confined in the tower of the Louvre: his wife, the daughter of the earl of Flanders, was one of thoſe heroines who ſo ſeldom make their appearance in the world, and from whom the fable of the Amazons was doubtleſs firſt invented. She preſented herſelf to her huſband's troops, holding her young ſon in her arms, with a ſword in her hand, and a helmet on her head. She ſtoutly defended the town of Hannebon, and at length, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh fleet, ſhe obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege.

While this was paſſing, the Engliſh and French parties carried on the war in Guienne, Brittany, and Normandy. At length was fought the bloody battle of Creſſy, between Edward and Philip of Valois, near the river Somme. Edward had with him his ſon, the prince of Wales, Aug. 26, 1346

called the Black Prince, on account of his brown armour, and a black plume of feathers he wore on his helmet. This young prince had almoſt the whole honour of the day. Some hiſtorians have attributed the defeat of the French to ſome pieces of cannon, which the Engliſh had provided themſelves with on this occaſion *. It had been upwards of ten or twelve years ſince the uſe of artillery had been introduced.

It has been a queſtion, whether this invention, which originally came from the Chineſe, was brought into Europe by the Arabians, who traffic on the Indian ſeas? I can hardly think it. It was a Benedictine monk, named Berthold Schwartz, who firſt diſcovered this fatal ſecret. Several however had approached pretty near to it before his time. Roger Bacon, who was likewiſe a prieſt, and of the ſame order, had a long time before taken notice of violent exploſions, that might be produced from ſaltpetre pent up. But how happened it, that the French king had not cannon in his army, as well as the king of England? Or if the Engliſh had this ſuperior advantage, why do all our hiſtorians throw the loſs of the battle on the Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, which Philip had in his pay? and whoſe bow-ſtrings had been rendered uſeleſs by a ſudden ſhower of rain; whilſt thoſe of the Engliſh archers were not the leaſt wetted †? Theſe hiſtorians however might have

* No Engliſh or French hiſtorian that we know, makes mention of any cannon on either ſide at the battle. Villani indeed takes notice of the circumſtance, but in all probability he is miſtaken.

† The Engliſh hiſtorians expreſly ſay, that their archers kept their bows in caſes, until the rain, or rather ſhower, was over.

with

with more juſtice obſerved, that a prince, who, like the king of France, hired Genoeſe archers, inſtead of training to diſcipline the people of his own nation, and who ſuffered his own army to want cannon, when that of the enemy was provided with them, did not deſerve to conquer.

It is very ſtrange, that, conſidering the total change the uſe of gun-powder muſt have wrought in the art of war, we have never been able to trace out the æra of this change. A nation that was able to procure a good train of artillery, muſt doubtleſs have been ſuperior to all others. This was of all arts the moſt fatal; but, at the ſame time, that which required to be carried to the greateſt perfection. And yet even in the time of Charles VIII. it ſtill continued in its infancy; ſo prevalent are antient cuſtoms and ſuch the bar which indolence throws in the way of human induſtry. They did not know the uſe of artillery in ſhips till the time of Charles V. and lances continued to be the chief warlike weapons in moſt engagements till the latter end of the reign of Henry IV.

It is pretended, that at the battle of Creſſy, the enemy had no more than 2500 horſemen in complete armour, and 40000 foot; and that the French had 40000 foot, and near 3000 men at arms. Thoſe who are for making the loſs ſtill leſs on the ſide of the French, ſay, that their army did not amount in the whole to more than 20000 men *. The

* The author muſt certainly be greatly miſtaken in this account of the force of the two armies. The beſt hiſtorians in-

The count of Blois, who was one of the seeming causes of this war, was killed in this battle; and the following day the troops of the commons of the kingdom were likewise defeated. Edward, after two victories, obtained within two days, took the town of Calais, which the English remained in possession of 210 years.

This war, which was carried on at the same time in Guienne, Britanny, Normandy, and Picardy, drained both France and England of men and money. And yet that was a very unfit time for ambition to display itself in the destruction of the human species; they should rather have united against a scourge of another kind. A terrible plague, which had
1347 made the circuit of the world, and had
and depopulated Asia and Africa, now made
1348 dreadful havoc in Europe, and especially in France and England†.

Mezeray has said after others, that this plague came from China, and that there arose out of the

form us, that Philip divided his army into three distinct bodies, the first of which, commanded by John de Luxemburgh, the blind king of Bohemia, consisted of 3000 men at arms, 29000 infantry, and 15000 Genoese cross bows. The second division, conducted by Charles, count of Alençon, was composed of 4000 men at arms, and 20000 infantry: and the third body, commanded by Philip in person, consisted of 12000 men at arms, and 15000 infantry; making in all 19000 horsemen, and 11[illegible] foot. Whereas the English army did not consist at most of above 36000 men, viz. in the first line, commanded by the prince of Wales, there were 8000 men at arms, 4000 archers, and 6000 infantry; in the second line, there were 8000 men at arms, 4000 [illegible], and about 2000 archers; the third line, commanded by the king himself, was composed of 700 men at arms, 53[illegible] and 6000 archers.

† In the first six months of this plague (which lasted two years) 5000 persons are said to have died of it in the cities of *Norwich* and London.

earth,

earth, an inflammatory exhalation in the form of a globe of fire, which burſting, diſperſed its infectious contents over the whole hemiſphere. Methinks this is aſcribing too fabulous an origin to ſo certain a calamity. In the firſt place, we have no inſtance of any ſuch meteorical exhalations having ever cauſed the plague; and in the ſecond place, the Chineſe annals make no mention of any contagious diſtemper, except that in the year 1504. The plague, properly ſo called is a malady peculiar to the climate of the middle part of Africa, as the ſmall-pox is to Arabia, and the poiſon which infects the ſprings of life, to the Caribbee iſlands. Every climate of this wretched globe, in which nature has every where blended the evil with the good, has its particular poiſons. This plague, which made ſuch havoc in the 14th century, reſembled thoſe which depopulated the world under the reign of Juſtinian, and in the time of Hippocrates; and during the continuance of this heavy ſcourge, king Edward and Philip of Valois fought only for the maſtery over expiring ſubjects.

After a ſeries of ſo many calamities, after the elements and the unbridled fury of ambitious men ſeemed to have combined to deſolate the face of the earth, it is aſtoniſhing to ſee Europe in ſo flouriſhing a condition. The only reſource left for mankind in thoſe times of univerſal diſtreſs, were the towns which were beneath the notice of the great lords. There induſtry and commerce repaired in ſecret the evils, which the princes of the world perpetrated with ſo much noiſe and oſtentation. England during the reign of Edward III. abundantly repaid herſelf the immenſe ſums ſhe had been

obliged

obliged to laviſh in ſupport of her monarch's enterprizes. She found a market for her wool at Bruſſels, the inhabitants of which manufactured it. The Flemings likewiſe employed themſelves in various manufactures. The Hanſe Towns* formed a republic uſeful to mankind; and the arts maintained their footing in all the free and commercial cities of Italy. Theſe arts only require to ſpread themſelves and to encreaſe; and after the fury of the general ſtorm is over, they tranſplant themſelves as it were of their own accord, into thoſe deſolated countries which ſtand in need of them.

During this ſituation of affairs died
1350 Philip of Valois, far from carrying with him to his grave the title of Fortunate, tho' he had annexed Dauphiné to the kingdom of France. The laſt prince of this country having loſt all his children, and being tired with the wars which he had maintained againſt Savoy, gave Dauphiné to the king of France in 1349, and became a Dominican friar at Paris.

This Province, ſo named from one of its kings having taken a dolphin (in French called dauphin) for his arms, made a part of the kingdom of Arles, which was one of the imperial demeſnes; ſo that the king of France became by this acquiſition a feudatory to the emperor Charles IV. We know for certain, that the emperors always claimed a right of juriſdiction over this province, till the time of Maximilian I. and the German civilians inſiſt

* The Hanſe Towns, a well known confederacy of trading cities in different parts of Europe.

to

to this day, that it ought to depend as a fief on the empire. Its princes however think differently. In fact, nothing is more vain than reſearches of this nature; and they might as well aſſert, that the emperors have a claim to Egypt, becauſe Auguſtus was once maſter of it.

Philip of Valois had alſo encreaſed his demeſnes by the acceſſion of the provinces of Rouſillon and Cerdagne, which a king of Majorca, of the houſe of Arragon, had mortgaged to him for a ſum of money, and which Charles VIII. reſtored again, without being reimburſed. He alſo made the acquiſition of Montpellier, which has ever ſince continued in the houſe of France.

It may appear ſurpriſing, that Philip, during ſo troubleſome a reign, ſhould have been able to purchaſe theſe provinces, beſides paying ſo much money for Dauphiné. But the duties upon ſalt, which the people called Philip's Salic law, the augmentation of the taxes, and the frequent alteration of the coin, had enabled him to make theſe purchaſes, by which the ſtate indeed became encreaſed, but was at the ſame time greatly impoveriſhed; and although this prince had at firſt the appellation of Fortunate, his ſubjects had never the leaſt claim to that title. And yet under the reign of his ſon John, they regretted even the times of Philip of Valois.

The moſt intereſting affair with reſpect to the people, during this reign, was the law of writs of error, which the parliament gradually introduced, with the aſſiſtance of the attorney-general, Peter Cugnieres. The clergy made loud complaints againſt this act; but the king con-

contented himſelf with winking at this new cuſtom, and would not oppoſe a remedy, which added a freſh ſupport to his authority, and the laws of the realm.

A writ of error, which is to be lodged in the courts of parliament of the kingdom, takes place upon cauſe of complaint for any unjuſt or inſufficient ſentence given by the eccleſiaſtical courts; any declaration which deſtroys the royal juriſdiction, or an oppoſition made to the pope's bull, which may be contrary to the rights of the king and kingdom.

This ſtate remedy, or rather palliative medicine, was no other than a weak imitation of the famous ſtatute of *premunire* *, enacted by the parliament of England, in the reign of Edward III. by which ſtatute, every one who proſecuted a cauſe in an eccleſiaſtical court, which properly fell under the cognizance of the king's courts, was puniſhed with impriſonment. The Engliſh have generally ſet an example to other nations in all matters relative to the liberties of the ſtate.

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* Edward III. in the 27th year of his reign, enacted a law againſt thoſe who drew the ſubjects out of the realm, to proſecute cauſes that properly belonged to the king's courts: but that law, which was known by the name of the ſtatute of *premunire*, was made in the reign of Richard II. decreeing that the offender ſhould be put out of the king's protection, forfeit their lands and goods, and be impriſoned and ranſomed at the king's pleaſure.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV.

Of FRANCE, under King JOHN.

THIS reign proved ſtill more unfortunate to France than the foregoing. John, who was ſurnamed the Good, began his reign with ordering the count d'Eu * his conſtable of France to be aſſaſſinated in his own palace. Soon after his couſin and ſon-in-law, the king of Navarre, ordered the new 1354
conſtable † to be murdered. This king of Navarre, Charles Petit, who was ſon to Lewis Hutin, and king of Navarre in his mother's right, and a prince of the blood by the father's ſide, was, as well as king John, one of the ſcourges of France, and well deſerved the title of Charles the Bad.

The king, after having been obliged to pardon him in full parliament, cauſed 1355
him to be apprehended for a much ſmaller crime, and without any form of trial, ordered four of his friends to be beheaded. Theſe dreadful executions were the conſequences of a weak government, which produced cabals;

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* Raoul, count of Eu and Guynes, had been priſoner in England, from whence he was juſt returned. The king, being informed that he was concerned in ſome intrigues againſt the ſtate, ordered him to be arreſted and beheaded without form of trial.

† The king of Navarre, incenſed to ſee the county of Angoulême, which he had begged of the king, given to Charles of Spain, conſtable of France, whom he looked upon as his mortal enemy, he way-laid and aſſaſſinated him at l'Aigle in Normandy.

theſe

theſe cabals brought on acts of the blackeſt revenge, which ended in a ſevere but untimely repentance.

John, being in want of money, had begun his reign with renewing the falſe coin which had been current in his father's time, and had threatened to put the officers entruſted with this ſecret to death. Theſe abuſes were at once the effects and proofs of a diſaſtrous time: misfortunes and abuſes produce at length ſalutary laws. France was for ſome time under the ſame kind of adminiſtration with its neighbouring kingdom England. The kings called a general aſſembly of the ſtates; this aſſembly had been ſubſtituted in the place of the ancient parliaments of the kingdom. Theſe general aſſemblies were exactly the ſame with the parliaments of England, being compoſed of nobles, biſhops, and deputies from the ſeveral towns; and that which was called the new parliament, and ſate at Paris, was nearly the ſame with the court of king's bench in London. The chancellor was the ſecond officer of the crown in both kingdoms. In England he ſpoke for the king in the general aſſembly of the ſtates, and had a right of ſuperintendency over the court of king's bench *. He was the ſame

* The chancellor of England never had any right of ſuperintendency over the king's bench, which is the *curia morum* of all the ſubjects in the realm, where the king is ſuppoſed to preſide in perſon. Far from its being ſubordinate to chancery, it hath been held, that upon judgment given in that court, writ of error in ſome caſes will lie returnable in the king's bench: nay, it hath been aſſerted, that a writ of error lies in the king's bench of an attainder before the lord high ſteward.

in

in France; and what proves beyond contradiction, that the adminiſtration was carried on upon the ſame principles, both at Paris and at London is, that the aſſembly of the ſtates of France in 1355 enacted, and obliged king John to ſign almoſt the ſame kind of regulations, nay almoſt the ſame kind of charter with that which the barons of England obliged their king John to ſubſcribe. The ſupplies, the nature and term of theſe ſupplies, and the value of the ſpecies, were all regulated in this aſſembly. The king obliged himſelf not to compel the ſubject for the future, to furniſh proviſion for his houſhold unleſs paid for it; never to make any alteration in the coin, &c. &c. &c.

This aſſembly of the ſtates in 1355, which was the moſt memorable of any ever held in France, has been taken the leaſt notice of by our hiſtorians. Father Daniel only ſays, that it was held in the hall of the new court of parliament. But here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the parliament was not at that time perpetual, and had no place in this great aſſembly of the ſtates. In fact, the provoſt of the merchants of Paris, being in virtue of his office the natural deputy of the firſt city in the kingdom, was ſpeaker for the third ſtate.

There is one eſſential point in hiſtory which has been paſſed over in ſilence: this is, that the ſtates granted a ſupply of about 190,000 marks of ſilver for paying 30,000 gendarmes; this makes about nine millions five hundred thouſand livres of our preſent money. Theſe 30,000 gendarmes were part of an army of at leaſt 80,000 men, to which the commons of the kingdom were alſo to be added, and at the expiration

expiration of the year another ſupply was to be provided for the maintenance of the ſame army. Laſtly, we muſt obſerve that this great charter proved only a temporary regulation in France, whereas it was made an eſtabliſhed law among the Engliſh.

At length the black prince, with a ſmall, but formidable army, advanced as far as Poitiers, and ravaged all thoſe territories which had formerly made part of the demeſnes of his anceſtors. King John, at the head of 60,000 armed men *, immediately flew to meet him; whereas had the French king declined coming to
1356 an engagement, it is obvious to every
Sept. one, that he might have ſtarved the whole Engliſh army.

If the black prince committed a fault in advancing too haſtily, John was guilty of a much greater one in attacking him. This battle of Maupertuis or Poitiers greatly reſembled that which had formerly been loſt by Philip de Valois. There was order and diſcipline in the army of the black prince, whereas the French had only courage; and this was overcome by the ſuperior courage of the Engliſh and Gaſcoons who fought under the prince of Wales. We do not find it ſaid that cannon was made uſe of by either army in this battle. The ſilence of writers in this reſpect leaves room to doubt whether there was any uſed at the battle of Creſſy; or, at leaſt, it proves that if there was, it had proved of very little effect, and upon that account they had diſcontinued the uſe of

* Beſides infantry.

it.

it: it may likewiſe ſerve to ſhew, how apt men are to ſlight advantageous diſcoveries on account of their novelty, and for the ſake of adhering to an old eſtabliſhed cuſtom: or laſtly, it is a tacit reflection on the negligence and inaccuracy of hiſtorical writers.

Moſt of the French knights were ſlain in this battle; the reſt fled; and the king, being wounded in the face, was taken priſoner, with one of his ſons. It is worthy of notice, that this monarch ſurrendered himſelf to one of his ſubjects * whom he had baniſhed, and who on this occaſion ſerved againſt him in the enemy's army. The ſame thing happened to Francis I. †.

The black prince conducted his two royal captives to Bourdeaux, and from thence they were conveyed to London. It is well known that upon this occaſion he behaved with the utmoſt tenderneſs and reſpect to the king of France. His moderation added new luſtre to the glory he had acquired by his valour. He made his entrance into London upon a little black horſe, and rode on the left hand of his priſoner, who was mounted on a horſe of remarkable beauty, and ornamented with the richeſt trappings.

The king's confinement proved the ſignal of a civil war in Paris; every one was immediately for forming a party. Factions are generally

* Named Dennis de Morhec, a knight of Artois, who, coming up to him when he was deſerted by all his followers, exhorted him to yield: upon which John threw his gauntlet to him in ſignal of ſurrender.

† At the battle of Pavia.

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed upon the pretext of reformation. Charles, the dauphin of France, who was afterwards the wiſe king Charles V. was declared regent of the kingdom; but it was only to ſee almoſt the whole kingdom revolt againſt him.

Paris at that time was become a formidable city, for it contained 50000 men able to bear arms. On this occaſion they firſt invented the uſe of chains in the ſtreets, which ſerved for intrenchments againſt the revolters. Charles the dauphin, now found himſelf obliged to releaſe the king of Navarre, whom his father had confined in priſon. This was in fact letting looſe an enemy againſt himſelf. The king of Navarre arrives at Paris, and arrives to
1357 blow the coals of ſedition. Marcel, provoſt of the merchants of Paris, enters the Louvre, at the head of the malecontents, where he cauſes Robert de Clermont, marechal of France, together with the marechal of Champagne to be maſſacred before the dauphin's eyes. In the mean time the peaſants aſſemble from all parts, and in the hurry of the tumult fall upon all the gentlemen they meet with in their way, treating them as revolted ſlaves may be ſuppoſed to treat thoſe ſevere maſters who happen to fall into their hands, revenging themſelves upon them by a thouſand cruel puniſhments for the meanneſs of their condition, and the miſeries they had ſuffered; and they even carried their brutal fury ſo far as to roaſt a nobleman in his caſtle, and to compel his wife and daughters to eat the fleſh.

During theſe commotions in the ſtate, Charles of Navarre aſpired to the crown. And the dauphin and he waged war with one another, which

which ended only in a diſſembled peace. In this manner was the unhappy kingdom rent in pieces, for the ſpace of four years, after the battle of Poitiers. How comes it that Edward and his ſon did not take advantage of their victory, and the misfortunes of the conquered? It ſeems as if the Engliſh were afraid their prince ſhould grow too powerful, and therefore were tardy in their ſupplies. Thus Edward was treating about the ranſom of his priſoner, while the Black Prince was concluding a truce *.

It is evident to me that there were faults committed on all ſides. But I cannot comprehend why all our hiſtorians ſhould have been weak enough to aſſert, that Edward III. being come into France to reap the fruits of the two victories of Creſſy and Poitiers, and being advanced within a few leagues of Paris, was on a ſudden ſtruck with an holy pannic, occaſioned by a violent ſhower of rain, and that falling upon his knees, he made a vow to the holy Virgin, to grant the French terms of peace. When was it ever known that a ſhower of rain determined the wills of conquerors, or the fate of nations? If Edward III. did make any vow to the Virgin Mary, it was doubtleſs ſuch an one as was for his own advantage; for he demanded for the king's ranſom, Poitou, Saintonge, Agenois, Perigord, 1360

* This truce was mediated at Bourdeaux, by the cardinals of Perigort and St. Vital, whom pope Innocent VI. had ſent thither for that purpoſe. We muſt not imagine that the conduct of princes is always influenced by matters of policy. They, as well as individuals, have their paſſions, their prejudices, their fears, and their weakneſſes.

Limouſin, Quercy, Angoumois, Rouvergue, and all that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in the neighbourhood of Calais; the whole in full ſovereignty. I am ſurprized that he did not at the ſame time inſiſt upon Normandy and Anjou, his antient patrimony. He further demanded the ſum of three millions of gold crowns.

Edward by this treaty, ceded to John the title of king of France, together with all his rights to Normandy, Touraine, and Anjou. It is certain, that the antient demeſnes which the kings of England had formerly poſſeſſed in France, were much more conſiderable than what was yielded to Edward by this treaty; and nevertheleſs this was a fourth part of the kingdom.

At length John was releaſed from his four years confinement in the Tower of London, upon delivering up his brother, and two of his ſons as hoſtages. One of the greateſt difficulties was to raiſe the money for his ranſom. He was to pay 600,000 gold crowns for the firſt payment, and he well knew that France was ſo impoveriſhed, that ſhe could not raiſe that ſum. In this exigence he was obliged to recal the Jews, and to ſell them the privilege of living and trading in the country. The king himſelf was obliged to pay for the neceſſaries of his houſehold, with leathern money, in the middle of which there was a little ſilver nail. The poverty and misfortunes of this prince ſtripped him of all authority, and his kingdom of all good government.

The ſoldiers who were diſbanded, and the peaſants who had in the late troubles learnt ſomething of the art of war, formed themſelves into parties in the different provinces, but eſpecially beyond the

the Loire. One of their chiefs took the name of "The friend of God, and enemy to all the world." A fellow named John de Gouge, a burgher of Sens, caused himself to be declared king by these banditti, and did almost as much mischief to the kingdom by his depredations, as the true king had done by his misfortunes. In fine, what is most surprising, the king, in the midst of this general desolation, made a journey to Avignon, where the popes then resided, to revive the antient projects of the Crusades.

A king of Cyprus had lately come to sollicit this expedition against the Turks, who already began to spread themselves over Europe. Probably king John was only desirous to leave his native country; but instead of undertaking this ridiculous voyage against the Turks, finding himself unable to discharge the remainder of his ransom to the English, he returned to London, to surrender himself up as hostage in the room of his brother and his children. 1363 There he died, and his ransom was never paid. To complete his humiliation, it is said that his sole motive for returning to England, was to see a woman whom he had fallen in love with at the age of fifty-six.

Brittany, which had been the cause of this war, was abandoned to its fate. The count of Blois, and the count of Montfort, disputed this province with each other. Montfort, who was just returned from his confinement at Paris, and Blois from his at London, decided their quarrel in a pitched battle fought near 1364 Avray; when the fortune of the English again prevailed, and the count of Blois was slain.

These times of ignorance, sedition, rapine, and murder, were however those in which chivalry shone in its greatest lustre. As this institution served in some measure to counterballance the general brutality of manners, we shall consider it apart. Honour and generosity, joined with gallantry, were its fundamental principles. The most celebrated feat of arms in the annals of chivalry, is the combat between thirty Bretons against twenty English, six Bretons and four Germans, which happened at the time that the countess of Blois, in the name of her deceased husband; and Montfort's widow, in the name of her son, carried on war against each other in Brittany, in the year 1351. This famous combat was concerning a point of honour, and took its rise at a conference held about a treaty of peace. At this meeting, instead of deliberating upon the matter in hand, both sides began to brave each other; and Beaumanoir, who was the chief of the Bretons that were for the countess of Blois, proposed a combat, to decide who had the handsomest mistress. Accordingly, the challenge being accepted, the combatants, to the number of sixty, met upon a spot of ground enclosed for the purpose. Of the sixty combatants, there were five knights only killed, one on the side of the Bretons, and four of the English. This confirms a remark we have already made, namely, that the complete armour of those times rendered the wearer in a manner invulnerable, and that it was much easier to throw a knight to the ground, than to kill him when he was fallen *.

* See Chap. XXVIII. Vol. I.

But

But all theſe feats of arms were of no real ſervice; for they neither contributed to the better diſciplining the troops, nor remedied the abuſes of an almoſt ſavage adminiſtration. Had the Pauli-Æmilii and the Scipios of Rome fought hand to hand with their enemy, to determine who had the handſomeſt miſtreſs, the Romans would never have been the conquerors and lawgivers of the world.

At the time when Charles V. ſurnamed the Wiſe, came to the crown of France, he found the kingdom in a moſt exhauſted and deſolate condition, and was therefore obliged to have recourſe to patience, to intrigues, and to negociations, as the moſt effectual means of repairing the miſchiefs which had been cauſed by his father's misfortunes. But the Black Prince, now abſolute maſter of Guyenne, which his father Edward had beſtowed on him in full ſovereignty, as a reward for his valour, ſoon added new laurels to thoſe he had already won in the fields of Creſſy and Poitiers.

CHAP. LXV.

Of the BLACK PRINCE.

Of Don PEDRO the Cruel, king of Caſtille, and of the Conſtable Du GUSCLIN.

THE kingdom of Caſtille was almoſt in as miſerable a condition as France. Peter or Don Pedro, ſurnamed the Cruel, ſate upon the throne, whom hiſtorians have repreſented

as a mercileſs tyger, that thirſted after human blood, and even felt a ferocious joy in ſpilling it. I dare affirm, that there does not exiſt ſuch a character in nature. Sanguinary men are only ſuch in the tranſports of revenge, or in the ſeverity of that horrid policy, which conſiders cruelty as a neceſſary meaſure; but no man ever ſpills blood merely for his pleaſure *.

This prince aſcended the throne of Caſtille a minor, and under a very unfavourable circumſtance. His father, Alphonſo XI. had had ſeven baſtards by his miſtreſs, Eleonora de Guſman: theſe baſtards had ſuch powerful ſettlements left them, that they defied the royal authority; and their mother, who had ſtill more power than they, inſulted the queen-dowager. In ſhort, the kingdom of Caſtille was divided into two parties, one of which ſided with the queen-mother, and the other with Eleonora de Guſman; ſo that when the young king came of age, he found himſelf obliged to maintain a civil war againſt the faction of the baſtards. He engaged them in ſeveral battles, proved victorious, and at laſt put Eleonora to death, to ſatisfy his mother's revenge †. Thus far he might be termed valiant, but

* It were to be wiſhed, for the ſake of humanity, that our author's aſſertion was true; but we cannot ſee why a brutal diſpoſition may not be as much delighted with human carnage, as with bear or bull-baiting. Witneſs the pleaſure which even the Romans took, in the combats of the gladiators and priſoners, the paſtime of a Nero, a Caligula, a Heliogabalus, and, almoſt in our days, of Muley Iſhmael, tyrant of Morocco, who uſed to ſlay his innocent ſubjects with his own hand, in the way of common exerciſe and diverſion.

† Eleonora was perfidiouſly murdered at Talavera, in violation of the public faith, before any civil war was excited. Immediately

but too ſevere. He afterwards eſpouſed Blanche of Bourbon, and the firſt news he heard concerning his wife, upon her arrival at Valladolid, was that ſhe had fallen in love with the grand maſter of St. Jago, one of thoſe very baſtards who had waged war againſt him. I am ſenſible, that intrigues of this nature are ſeldom authenticated by proofs, and that a prudent king ought rather to pretend ignorance in ſuch matters, than blindly follow the dictates of revenge; but after all, the king was excuſable, ſince there is to this day a family in Spain, which boaſts of being deſcended from this adulterous commerce. 1351

Queen Blanche had at leaſt the imprudence to enter into too cloſe a connection with the faction of the baſtards, her huſband's enemies. Can we then be ſurpriſed, that the king left her in a caſtle, and conſoled himſelf with other amours?

Don Pedro therefore had, at the ſame time, the king of Arragon and his rebellious brothers

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mediately after this cruel aſſaſſination, he repaired to Burgos, and ſent for Garcilaſſo de la Vega, who no ſooner entered the palace, than Pedro cauſed him to be diſpatched, and his body thrown into the ſtreet. His own brother, Don Frederic, was butchered in his preſence, in the hall of the palace at Seville, and he dined in the ſame room, before the body was removed. His other brother, Don Tello, was deſtined to the ſame fate, but eſcaped. His couſin, Don Juan of Arragon, was ſtabbed in his preſence at Bilboa, and the body was thrown out of a window, from whence Pedro inſulted it, in the hearing of the populace: This nobleman's widow he poiſoned, and his own aunt, the queen-dowager of Arragon, he put to death. He ſacrificed his own queen, Donna Blanca, a princeſs of the moſt amiable character; and embrued his hands in ſo many murders, that he ſeems to have been deſtitute of all ſentiments of humanity.

to encounter: Victory however ſtill followed him, and it muſt be confeſſed, he made a cruel uſe of it. He ſeldom forgave, and his relations, who were found in arms againſt him, were ſacrificed to his reſentment. In ſhort, he ordered the grand maſter of St. Jago to be put to death. This action procured him the name of Cruel, while John, king of France, who had aſſaſſinated his conſtable, and four Norman lords, was called John the Good.

During theſe troubles, his wife Blanche died. She had been judged culpable, and of courſe it was ſaid ſhe died by poiſon. But let me once more obſerve, that we ſhould be cautious how we give credit to a charge of this nature, without ſufficient proof.

It was doubtleſs the intereſt of the king's enemies, to ſpread a report about Europe of his having poiſoned his wife. Henry de Traſtamare, one of the baſtards, who had the death of a mother and a brother to revenge, and what was ſtill more, his own intereſt to ſupport, took advantage of this conjuncture. France was at time infeſted by thoſe united banditti, called Malandrini *, who did all the miſchief which

* This is the name given in Spaniſh romances to robbers and ruffians. The *Malandrini* here mentioned were freebooting companies, formed of the ſoldiers who had been diſbanded at the peace. A great number of them were Engliſh; Sir Hugh de Calverly and Sir Matthew Gournay were two of their principal chieftains. They engaged with du Gueſclin in a formal treaty, ſtipulating that they ſhould receive a certain conſideration in money from the king of France and the pope; that his holineſs ſhould abſolve them from the cenſures they had incurred; that du Gueſclin ſhould be their commander; and that

which Edward of England had not been able to do. This Henry de Traſtamare entered into a treaty with Charles V. to rid France of thoſe freebooters, by taking them into his ſervice. The king of Arragon, always an enemy to the ſovereign of Caſtille, promiſed to grant them a free paſſage through his dominions. Bertrand du Gueſclin, a knight of great reputation, who only ſought for an opportunity to ſignalize himſelf, engaged the Malandrins to acknowledge him as their chief, and follow him into Caſtille. This enterprize of du Gueſcelin has been conſidered as an holy action, which he performed, as he himſelf acknowledged, for the good of his ſoul. The holineſs of this action conſiſted in leading a band of robbers, to aſſiſt a rebel againſt his lawful, though cruel ſovereign.

It is well known, that du Gueſclin, in paſſing by Avignon, being in want of money to pay his troops, obliged the pope to give him a large ſum for the ſafety of himſelf and his court. This was at that time a neceſſary extortion, but I dare not mention the name which would have been given it, had it not been done by one, who commanded a troop that might paſs for a little army.

The baſtard Henry, aſſiſted by theſe troops, which had increaſed in their 1366
march, and likewiſe ſupported by the king of Arragon, began, by cauſing himſelf

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that they ſhould not be defired to ſerve againſt the prince of Wales, whom they adored. It was becauſe the pope delayed the payment of the ſum he had promiſed, that they afterwards laid him under contribution.

to be proclaimed king in the town of Burgos. Don Pedro, finding himſelf thus attacked by the French, applied for aſſiſtance to the Black Prince, their conqueror. This prince, who was ſovereign of Guyenne, and conſequently muſt have beheld with a jealous eye, any ſucceſs of the French arms in Spain, determined by intereſt and honour, eſpouſed the juſteſt ſide, and marched to the aſſiſtance of Pedro, with his Gaſcons and ſome Engliſh; and ſoon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro, near the village of Navarette, the bloody battle which is called by that name, between Don Pedro and the Black Prince on the one ſide, and Henry de Traſtamare and the conſtable du Gueſcelin on the other. This battle proved more glorious to the Black Prince, than even thoſe of Creſſy and Poitiers had done; becauſe here the field was longer diſputed. In a word, his victory was complete; for he took Bertrand du Gueſclin * and the marechal d'Andrehen priſoners, who would ſurrender to no one but him.

Henry de Traſtamare, after the loſs of this battle, was obliged to fly into Arragon; and the Black Prince reſettled Don Pedro on the throne. Don Pedro, on this occaſion, exerted the unhappy right of revenge in its full extent, and treated ſeveral of the rebels with all that ſeverity, which the laws of government au-
1368 thoriſe under the name of juſtice. The Black Prince, who had the glory of reſtoring him to his crown, had alſo that of put-

* It muſt be obſerved, however, that by this time the free-booting companies had revolted to the Black Prince.

ting

ting a ſtop to his cruelties †: and indeed this prince is, next to Alfred, the hero whom the Engliſh hold moſt in veneration.

As ſoon as the ſupporter of Don Pedro was withdrawn, and Bertrand du Gueſclin had paid his ranſom, the baſtard of Traſtamare revived the party of the malecontents, and du Gueſclin, at the private inſtigation of the French king, Charles V. began to raiſe new troops.

The count de Traſtamare had, on his ſide, Arragon, the rebels of Caſtille, and the ſuccours of France; while not only the greater part of the Caſtillians, but alſo Portugal, and the Moors of Spain, declared for Don Pedro, who only gained freſh odium by theſe new allies, without reaping much real ſervice from them.

Henry and du Gueſclin, having no longer the ſuperior genius and fortune of the Black prince to encounter, gained a complete victory over Pedro, in the neighbourhood of Toledo; who, after this defeat, retired 1368 for ſafety to a caſtle, where he was ſoon beſieged by the victors, and, endeavouring to make his eſcape, was taken priſoner by a French gentleman, named le Begue de Vilaines. Being conducted to this knight's tent, the firſt object which met his eyes was the count de Traſtamare. It is ſaid that, tranſported with rage at this ſight, he flew, diſarmed as he was, upon him,

† All the priſoners taken in this battle would have been put to death, had not the prince of Wales interceded warmly in their behalf with Don Pedro, who was prevailed upon to be reconciled to them, and to publiſh a general amneſty to all his ſubjects.

and

and this brother (ſo far is the truth) with a poniard he held in his hand, inſtantly put an end to his life.

Thus periſhed Don Pedro, at the age of thirty-four; and with him ended the Caſtillian race. His mortal foe ſucceeded him in the throne, without any other right than that of murder: And from him deſcended the kings of Caſtille, who afterwards reigned in Spain, till the ſceptre of that kingdom was transferred to the houſe of Auſtria, by the marriage of queen Joan of Caſtille with Philip the Handſome, father to the famous Charles the Fifth.

CHAP. LXVI.

Of FRANCE and ENGLAND, during the REIGN of CHARLES V.

THE policy of Charles V. ſaved France from ruin; and the neceſſity of weakening the conquerors, Edward III. and his ſon the Black Prince, gave a ſhew of juſtice to his procedure. He took advantage of the father's old age, and the ſon's ill ſtate of health, who was afflicted with a dropſy, of which he died in 1371. His firſt ſtep was to ſow diviſion between the Black Prince, ſovereign of Guyenne, and his vaſſals; he eluded the performance of his treaties, and refuſed to pay the remainder of his father's ranſom, under various plauſible pretences. He entered into connections with the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad, who had ſo many large poſſeſſions in France; he like-

likewiſe ſtirred up the new king of Scotland, Robert Stuart, againſt the Engliſh; he reſtored order and regularity in the finances, and made the people contribute to the neceſſary ſupplies, without murmuring; in fine, without ſtirring out of his cabinet, he found means to have as much ſucceſs as king Edward, who had croſſed the ſea, and gained ſuch ſignal victories.

As ſoon as he perceived all the ſprings of his political machine well ſecured, and in readineſs for action, he ſtruck one of thoſe bold ſtrokes, which might paſs for raſhneſs in politics, if not juſtified by well concerted meaſures, and a ſucceſsful iſſue. He ſent a knight and a judge of Toulouſe, to ſummon the Black Prince to appear before him in the court of peers, to give an account of his conduct *. 1369

* This ſtep was not taken but at the expreſs deſire of the Gaſcon lords, who were by this time quite alienated from the prince of Wales, on account of the ſevere impoſitions he laid upon them; and his flagrant partiality to the Engliſh, in the diſtribution of his favours. But our author is miſtaken in ſaying, the Engliſh were now defeated in every battle. So long as the Black Prince remained in that country, the French durſt not appear in the field, even when he was reduced to extremity, by an incurable diſtemper. After his return to England, divers advantages were gained over the French by John de Chandos, Sir Hugh de Calverly, Sir Robert Knolles, and other Engliſh commanders. True it is, lord Grandiſon was taken, in conſequence of his own imprudence, on the borders of Le Maine; but Bertrand du Gueſclin had very little to boaſt of, until one Owen, a Welch renegado in the ſervice of France, ſurpriſed the perſon of John de Grailly, Captal de Buche, the great rival of Bertrand du Gueſclin. The Captal was conveyed to Paris, and confined to cloſe priſon, becauſe he would not engage in the ſervice of France, in violation of his allegiance to the Black Prince, whom he loved to ſuch a degree, that he would not ſurvive him; but broke his heart in confinement ſoon after the death of Edward.

This

This was acting as ſovereign judge of the conqueror of his father and grandfather, who was ſtill in poſſeſſion of Guyenne, and the circumjacent territories, in abſolute ſovereignty, by right of conqueſt, and the moſt ſolemn treaty. For he not only ſummoned the
1370 prince as his ſubject, but an arret of parliament was likewiſe iſſued, confiſcating the province of Guyenne, and all the places that appertained to the Engliſh in France. The cuſtom of thoſe times was to declare war by an herald at arms; but on this occaſion, one of the king's domeſtic ſervants was ſent to London, to perform the ceremony. A plain proof that Edward was no longer in a ſituation to be feared.

The irregularity of theſe proceedings was in ſome meaſure dignified by the valour and abilities of Bertrand du Gueſclin, now become conſtable of France, and more eſpecially by the good order which Charles had eſtabliſhed throughout his whole kingdom, which proved the truth of this maxim in public affars, that "where the profit is, there is the glory."

The Black Prince who was every day declining in his health, was no longer able to take the field: his father could ſend him but very weak ſupplies, and the Engliſh, who had before been every where victorious, were now beaten on all ſides. Bertrand du Gueſclin, though he did not obtain ſuch ſignal victories as thoſe of Creſſy and Poitiers, made exactly ſuch a campaign, as that by which in theſe latter times, Marechal Turenne gained the character.

racter of the greateſt general in Europe. He fell upon the Engliſh, ſettled about 1370 Maine and Avignon, defeated all their parties, one after the other, and with his own hand took their general, Grandiſon, priſoner. He reduced Poitou and Saintonge to the French dominions, and took all the towns belonging to the Engliſh, either by force of arms, or intrigues. The very ſeaſons themſelves ſeemed to fight for Charles. A formidable fleet of Engliſh ſhips, which was deſtined to make a deſcent upon the coaſts of France, were ſeveral times put back by contrary winds; and temporary truces, artfully managed, prepared the way for future ſucceſſes.

Charles V. who, twenty years before, had not money ſufficient to pay his guards, now ſaw himſelf maſter of five armies, and a fine fleet. His ſhips of war inſulted the Engliſh on their own coaſts, landing troops, and ravaging the country, while England, who had now loſt her warrior king, ſate tame ſpectatreſs of theſe inſults. She had now nothing left in France, but the city of Bourdeaux, Calais, and a few other fortified towns.

About this time alſo, France loſt her Bertrand du Gueſclin. Every one knows 1380 what honours his ſovereign paid to his memory. He was the firſt, I think, that had a funeral oration pronounced in his praiſe, and none but himſelf and marechal Turenne, were ever interred in the church deſigned for the burying-place of the kings of France. His body was carried to the grave with the ſame ceremonies as thoſe of crowned heads, and was followed by four princes of the blood; his horſes,

horſes, agreeable to the cuſtoms of thoſe times, were preſented, in the church, to the biſhop who performed the funeral ſervice, who laid his hand upon them, and bleſſed them. Theſe circumſtances are of no further importance, than as they ſerve to ſhew the ſpirit of chivalry, ſince the regard and veneration paid to great knights, who had rendered themſelves famous by their feats in arms, extended even to the horſes who fought under them in battle.

Charles V. did not long ſurvive
1380 du Gueſclin. He is ſaid to have died by a ſlow poiſon, which had been given him ten years before, and put a period to his life at the age of forty-four, as if there were any aliments in nature that could deprive people of life at the expiration of a certain time. It is undoubtedly true, that when a poiſon is not ſtrong enough to produce inſtant death, it will leave a weakneſs and languor in the body, the ſame as every violent diſeaſe; but it is far from being true, that it will produce thoſe ſlow effects which are by the vulgar deemed inevitable. The real poiſon which diſpatched Charles V. was a bad conſtitution.

No one is ignorant of the wiſe ordinance publiſhed by this prince, wherein the time of a king of France coming of age, was fixed at fourteen. This wiſe ordinance, which however proved inſufficient to prevent the ſubſequent troubles, was enrolled at a bed of juſtice held in 1374.

Charles was deſirous, by this ordinance, to eradicate the ancient abuſe of private wars between the lords, an abuſe which had hitherto paſſed as a law of the ſtate, and which, as ſoon

as

as he came to be maſter, he took care to prohibit it, and even forbid the wearing arms; but this was one of thoſe laws which it was impoſſible at that time to put in execution.

The treaſures which he amaſſed during his reign are ſaid to have amounted to the ſum of ſeventeen millions of livres of the money then current. It is certain that he had accumulated great riches, and that all the fruits of his œconomy were diſſipated by his brother, the duke of Anjou, in the unfortunate expedition to Naples, of which I have already ſpoken *.

After the deceaſe of Edward III. the conqueror of France, and of Charles V. the reſtorer of that kingdom, it was plainly ſeen, that the ſuperiority of a nation depends wholly upon thoſe who are at the helm of government.

Richard II. ſon to the black prince, ſucceeded his grandfather Edward III. at the age of eleven; and, ſome time after, Charles VI. came to the crown of France at the age of twelve. Theſe two minorities proved both unhappy; but England had the firſt and greateſt reaſon to complain.

We have ſeen the frenzy and madneſs which poſſeſſed the peaſants of France under king John †, and how cruelly they revenged the ſtate of ſlavery they had been in, and the miſeries they had ſuffered, upon thoſe gentlemen who had in fact been their oppreſſors: the ſame madneſs ſeized the Engliſh; and the war

* See chap. LVII.
† See chap. LXIV.

of

of Rome with the ſlaves ſeemed revived in this country. A tiler * and a prieſt did as much miſchief to England as the quarrels between the king and parliament are capable of producing in that kingdom. Theſe two incendiaries aſſembled the people of three counties †, and eaſily found means to perſuade them that the rich had long enough enjoyed the goods of this world, and that it was now time for the poor to take their revenge. They led them directly to London, plundered a part of the city, and cauſed the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the high-treaſurer to be beheaded. It is true that this madneſs ended in the deaths of the chiefs, and the total diſperſion of the mutineers: but theſe ſtate-ſtorms, which were become common in Europe, ſufficiently ſhew what kind of government prevailed at that time ‡. They were as yet unacquainted with the true end of politics, which conſiſts in ſubjecting all degrees and orders, in a ſtate, to the public good.

It may be alſo ſaid, that the Engliſh at that time did not better underſtand the limits of

* M. de Voltaire ſeems in this place to have miſtaken the proper name of the chief of theſe inſurgents, for that of his trade or calling.

† Kent, Eſſex, and Hertfordſhire.

‡ He alludes to the inſurrections of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, which were indeed deſperate efforts of ignorant plebeians, to emerge from villenage or ſlavery. Every body knows they were excited to rebellion by one John Ball, a fanatic prieſt, who enflamed them with ſermons and circular letters couched in quaint myſterious rhimes, extremely well calculated to work up the minds of ignorant ruſtics to fury and enthuſiaſm. Tyler, after having done abundance of miſchief, was ſlain in Smithfield at the head of his rebels, by Walworth, mayor of London, and others. Straw and Ball were afterwards executed as traitors.

their

their kings prerogatives, nor of the privileges of their parliaments. Richard II. at the age of eighteen, aimed at being deſpotic, and his ſubjects wanted to be free. This ſoon produced a civil war. In other countries a civil war almoſt always proves fatal to the malcontents, but in England the king generally ſmarts for it. Richard, after having maintained a ten years conteſt with his ſubjects, about authority, ſaw himſelf at length abandoned even by his own party. His couſin, the duke of Lancaſter, grandſon to the late Edward III. and who had a long time been baniſhed out of the kingdom, returned back with only three ſhips. Indeed he ſtood in need of no greater aſſiſtance; for, the inſtant he arrived, the whole nation declared for him; and Richard only requeſted that they would grant him his life and a penſion for his ſubſiſtence.

A parliament was called, in which this prince was ſolemnly depoſed, and confined to the Tower, from whence he ſent the duke of Lancaſter the enſigns of royalty, together with a writing, ſigned by his own 1399
hand, in which he acknowledged himſelf altogether unqualified to reign, as indeed he was, ſince mean enough to ſubſcribe ſuch a declaration.

Thus did this one century behold two kings of England, Edward II. and Richard II. the emperor Winceſlaus, and pope John XXIII. all four tried, condemned, and depoſed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, and with all the formalities of juſtice.

The Engliſh parliament, having depoſed their king, iſſued a decree, importing, that, in caſe

caſe of any attempt being made to reſtore him, he ſhould be adjudged worthy of death. Accordingly, upon the firſt riſing that was made in his favour, eight ruffians went and
1400 aſſaſſinated the unhappy monarch in his priſon. But Richard defended his life better than he had done his throne. He wreſted a pole-ax from one of the aſſaſſins, with which he laid four of the number dead at his feet before he fell himſelf. The duke of Lancaſter now aſcended the throne, by the name of Henry IV. during whoſe reign England neither enjoyed tranquility, nor was in a capacity to undertake any thing againſt France: but his ſon Henry V. brought about the greateſt revolution that had happened ſince the time of Charlemagne.

The END of VOL. II.

Erratum in Vol. I.
Page 31, Line 30: For courtiers, read brokers.